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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Research and Analysis Branch

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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

NORWAY

Description

An analysis of the political, economic, social and military controls which the Nazis have established for the government and exploitation of Norway.

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This study is Part Three, Section Two, II, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
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NORWAY

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II. NORWAY

A. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PATTERN OF CONTROL

1. Initial German Plans

When Germany invaded Norway her spokesmen professed only defensive purposes. General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, in his first proclamation on the day of invasion, 9 April 1940, stated that the German armed forces had come to Norway only for defensive military reasons. 1/ The German intention, he said, was not to establish a base in the fight against England, but to "defend peace in Norway" and to prevent Scandinavia from becoming a battlefield. 2/ Norway, he explained, was about to be invaded by the British (and the French), who sought to cut off the iron ore supplies from Sweden to Germany and to extend hostilities to Scandinavia; if they succeeded the outcome would be a new flank from which they might attack Germany. 3/ The General claimed that an agreement between the German Government and the legally constituted Norwegian Government could be reached on "measures of protection." He appealed to the Norwegian people not to undertake resistance of any kind and promised that he would "respect and secure in full measure the existence of the Kingdom, the preservation of its armed forces, the freedom of the Norwegian people, and the future independence of the country."

Accordingly when the Germans began their operations they were uncertain about the extent to which German civil administration would be needed in Norway. 4/

1/ Curtis Monica (ed.). Norway and the War, September 1939-December 1940, (London, 1941), pp. 58-59.
2/ Ibid., pp. 55, 56, 58, 59.
3/ This line of argument was presented with emphasis also by von Brauer, German Minister to Norway, and by von Ribbentrop the German Foreign Minister.
4/ There is a report that when the Blücher on invasion day sank under fire from Norwegian shore batteries she carried with her to the bottom of Oslofjord a staff of German civil administrators specially trained to go into action in Norway. The story may some day be verified but it hardly explains why the Germans left the Norwegian administration essentially intact for nearly half a year.

This much seems clear from the early proclamations and statements. Foreign Minister von Brauer in his ultimatum early on the day of invasion spoke of the "plan" for a "frictionless liaison" between the German and Norwegian authorities, though he made it clear that all areas in which Germany had an interest, especially coastal defences and shipping, communications, news, and radio services would be controlled, presumably as long as military interests demanded.1/ No doubt the Germans hoped to induce the Norwegian administrative service to work adequately if not harmoniously with the Wehrmacht Command.

This hope however, was a vain one from the outset. After the King and the Government fled Oslo, the Storting in final session at Hamar and Elverum on 10 April sanctioned the removal of the King and the Cabinet beyond the frontiers and gave them authority to take all necessary decisions until a Storting could meet again in free deliberation. The implications of these moves were far reaching. They removed the possibility that the Germans could find within the country a government with sufficient constitutionality to be recognized abroad, to control the large merchant marine scattered over all the oceans and to conclude peace with the Reich.

The Germans soon saw the need for more rigorous measures. In a second ultimatum, one day after his first, von Brauer declared that his demands of the previous day were insufficient; he must now demand a new government2/ to replace the one which had fled the capital. Falkenhorst on 14 April made a distinction between the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people and stated that, as the former had turned him down, the latter must now decide: "If the people reject me I shall have to use severe measures." 3/

1/ Curtis, op. cit., p. 49.
2/ Ibid. p. 53.
3/ Ibid. pp. 73-74.

2. Initial Norwegian Administrative Efforts

As it happened, one Norwegian of some notoriety was ready to deal with the Germans, namely Vidkun Abraham Laurity Quisling. On 9 April Quisling over the radio proclaimed himself "chief" of the Norwegian government; he "appointed" ministers, declared that he was taking over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and ordered discontinuance of the general mobilization of the Norwegian forces. Quisling had stepped out of public office in 1933 and had devoted his energies to the Nasional Samling party which he founded immediately thereafter.1/ When Brauer on 10 April demanded a change in government it was clear that Quisling had strong support at Berlin. In reply to queries whether the personnel of the new government might be a subject of discussion, Brauer replied in the affirmative except in the case of Quisling, since the Führer had decided upon him, 2/ but though the Führer strongly supported Quisling this was not equally true of the German authorities in Norway. After a tenure of five days, in which the Supreme Court and numerous officials and civilian leaders had made it clear that they would not work with him Quisling was eliminated by the Germans themselves.

The Administrative Council (Administrasjonsraad) was designed to fill the growing administrative gap. The idea of setting up such a council gained support as the Germans expanded their conquests in widening circles from the capital and as the

---

1/ His previous career as military attache at Petrogarad, aide to Fridtjof Hansen, and Minister of Defense in 1931-33 is discussed by Oscar J. Falnes, "Vidkun Quisling: Norwegian Nazi, "Vodisk Tiderde, 27 June 1940, and also by Sigmund Shard, "The Man Whose Name is Quisling," Tomorrow, September 1942.
2/ Curtis, op. cit., p. 53.

threat grew behind their lines that administrative chaos would develop. The Supreme Court of Norway stepped in and, through the Chief Justice, carried on negotiations with the Germans. On 15 April it took the responsibility 5/ of setting up an Administrative Council of seven members and appointed to it Norwegians representing various walks of life. The Court and the newly appointed Council members made it clear that the Council had no competence in foreign affairs or in matters of defense, that the Council was purely an emergency agency, anxious at all times to recognize the leadership of the King and his government, and that it was ready to step aside when the emergency passed.

3. The Appointment of a Reich Commissioner

Two weeks after the invasion, while King Haakon's army accompanied by the Government, kept on fighting and retreating northward stage by stage, Hitler felt obliged to define and bring some administrative regularity into the situation. In a proclamation on 24 April 1940 2/ he announced that a state of war existed between Norway and Germany, brought on, he alleged, by the Norwegian government. He declared that, with a view to the maintenance of public order and public life in the Norwegian territories which fell under the protection of the German troops, he placed these territories under a "Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Territories" (Reichskommissar für die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete). To this office he appointed Josef Terboven, former bank clerk and Gauleiter from Essen, and publisher of the Göring organ, the Essener Nationalzeitung. The Reich Commissioner was declared to be the supreme governmental authority in civil affairs, standing directly under, and receiving his directives from, the Führer himself. It was his duty to protect the interests of the

1/ Evidently the Court fell back on what in America would be called implied powers; paragraph 46 of the Constitution give it the duty of summoning the Storting if the Cabinet fail to do so when the King dies and his successor is a minor.
2/ Verordnungsblatt fur die Besetzten norwegischen Gebiete, 1940, p. 1. This official gazette will henceforth be cited as Vbl.

German Reich in Norway. The Proclamation defined his powers, his relations to other German agencies, and his instrumentalities in broad terms (see below, B2.) Most important was the stipulation that, while existing Norwegian law was to remain in force so far as it was compatible with the occupation, the Reich Commissioner was authorized to decree new laws. At Hitler's direction, regulations for implementing this proclamation were to be issued: in the civil sphere, by the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancellory; in the military sphere, by the Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces.

In a proclamation of 26 April Terboven formally assumed his new authority on a conciliatory note;

> I enter this task with a will to restrict the unpleasant measures for the population to a strict minimum. The decisive pre-requisit is a loyal attitude on the part of the population. The Norwegian authorities have agreed to collaborate in this task. They remain in office and continue to exercise their functions.1/

4. Question of Norwegian Central Organs

The task of the Reichscommessioner, despite his reference to the collaboration of Norwegian authorities, was domplicated by the fact that he was not dealing with a government functioning with its normal central agencies. The Administrative Council was but an inadequate expedient, and even Norwegeans recognized this fact.

The departure of King Haakon and his government from Norwegian soil on 7 June gave additional emphases to the fact that a new situation had been created which called for a reorganization of the country's administrative system. Representatives of the labor parties on 11 June proposed an expansion of the personnel of the Administrative Council to make it more representative. In his reply on 13 June, which really was an ultimatum, Terboven made clear what the Germans wanted. He proposed that the Storting members still within the country should assemble at Eidsvoll and there approve the

1/ Ibid.,p.2.

deposition of the King and the entire Royal House, the removal of the government that had supported him, and the appointment of a new government--a council of the Realm (Riksraad) to which extensive powers should be assigned. Later the Germans presented the demand to the Administrative Council. The proposal to assemble the members of the Storting or national parlement, left in the country involved constitutional difficulties for its members had decided, in the closing session at Hamar-Elverum, to meet again only when the country was free of the invader.

In the summer of 1940 the German demand was the subject of extended negotiations among the various Norwegian agencies and groups.which included the spokesmen of the mayor parties. The Germans appeared to be on the threshold of victory when on 18 June the bulk of the party leaders, the Presidential Board (the business committee of the Storting) and the Administrative Council (the Supreme Court members demured) agreed to the idea of asking the King to abdicate. The task of carrying on the negotiations fell to the Presidential Board. On 27 June the Preseidential Board,acting under considerable German pressure sent to the King in London a formal request for his abdication. The King replied on 3 July with an unmistakable refusal, which his government strongly supported in a communication on 17 July.

The matter of the abdication then rested for many weeks while discussions continued informally over the composition of the proposed council Riksraad. It was to be a body of sixteen members, all Norwegians. As early as 1 July there was tentative agreement on who should be appointed. The Germans thought it wise to accept as its head the head of the functioning Administrative Council, Governor Christensen. But Christensen, stoutly supported by his compatriots, was opposed to the appointment of any quisling to the Council. As weeks went by

this became an issue with the Germans. Later they promised to rid the country of Quisling if the Norwegians would accept as a member Axel Stang, a wealthy but insignificant young landowner though a member of Nasjonal Samling. 1/ The Presidential Board thought this not too bad a compromise but soon encountered further pressures. Christensen eventually agreed to reduce the representation accorded to labor and to admit two quislings. Hitler was personally interested in the matter, and German pressure was successful by mid-September in having at least four places on the proposed council earmarked for quislings2/

On 7 September a deputy of the Reichcommissoner informed the Presidential Board that a Storting meeting must be assembled promptly to decide on the proposed council of the Realm. At the meeting the members were not permitted to vote as a body on the propositions submitted but were required to deliberate and vote in party groups. Many members, after voting, were uncertain of what they had voted for; the propositions pertaining to the deposition of the King and Royal House had been confused.3/ Having secured something that could be publicized as a vote for deposition, the Germans next sought to avoid clear commitments on the role to be assigned to the contemplated council. But Norwegian patience was wearing thin and on 18 September, in an unusual display of firmness, the Presidential Board presented certain terms of its own as an ultimatum, on the ground that its members could obtain no clarification on the role to be assigned to the council. They also refused to consider an increase in the number of seats to be given to Quisling.

1/ Jacob Wörm-Müller, Norway Revolts against the Nazis (London, 1941 p.30)

2/ Ibid.,p.59.
3/ Ibid.,p.55.

5. The Proclamation of a New Norwegian Administrative Order

By the fall of 1940 the Germans saw clearly that they would be unable to establish a "frictionless liaison" with the traditional and representative Norwegian administrative ststem. Exasperated by the intrasigence of the Presidential Board, Terboven ddcided upon an arbitrary solution of the administrative problem. On 25 September 1940 he announced in an address 1/ that the authority of King Haakon VII and his government was repudiated and that further activities in their behalf were illegal. At the same time, he dismissed the temporarily established Administrative Council. Finally, he proclaimed an order of civil government for Norway which was wholly outside the framework that had been contemplated in the proposed Council of the Realm. He placed the administration of the country in the hands of thirteen "Commissarial State Councillors" (Kommissarische Staatsräte), each of whom was to be in charge of a department of administration. The State Councillors were endowed with broad legislative and appointive powers, but were wholly subordinated to the authority of the Reich Commissioner. (See below, C2.) Three days after his address of 25 September, Terboven began implementing his ideas in a series of decrees. 2/

While placing the State Councillors at the top of the Norwegian administration, the Germans outwardly left most of the administrative structure intact.

6. The Elevation of the Nasjonal Samling

Terboven's address of 25 September did still further violence to the constitutional structure of Norway than is represented in his abrogation of the traditional central organs. He abolished also the traditional political parties,

1/ Wörn-Müller, op.cit.,pp.137-46.
2/ Vbl.Nor.,1 October 1940,pp.21-2.

with the exception of the least respected among them. This was Quisling's fascist party, the Nasjonal Samling, which had represented only an insignificant proportion of the Norwegian people. As Commissarial State Councillors, Terboven nominated a group almost all of whom were members of or closely affiliated with the Nasjonal Samling. This was an implicit invitation to Quisling's party to take over, in collaboration with the Germans, the government of the country. In his address, indeed, Terboven made the elevation of the party to leadership explicit. He declared:

> If the Norwegian people are to reach a solution of the present situation, there is but one way to win back their freedom and independence, and that is the Nasjonal Samling. It is for the Norwegians to decide.

Terboven's speech was only hours old when the Gestapo took over the headquarters of the major Norwegian parties and confiscated their properties.

Quisling was given no office in September 1940 but he then assumed the title of Frer of Nasjonal Samling, having been designated previously as Hvding (chieftain).

7. The General Character of the German Pattern of Control

B y the fall of 1940 the German pattern of control for Norway had taken on a definitive form. It had been determined not only by German original plans but also by the force of circumstances, which had compelled certain substantial modifications. Originally, wishing to use Norway primarily for strategic purposes and restr ined somewhat by a racial theory that included the Norwegians as members of the Aryan stock, the Germans had contemplated relatively little interference. They seem to have preferred a type of satellite administration (or as the Germans called it, alliance administration): military control and domination of Norway's foreign policy, but the continued functioning of the Norwegian central government, whether headed by the monarch as Wehrmacht desired or led openly along pro-German lines by Quisling, as the Nazi Party

advocated. But the failure to obtain the co-operation of traditional Norwegian central organs, or even that of the improvised administrative Council, compelled the Germans to institute a direct German organ of control in the person of the Reich Commissioner. This official signalized a new departure in the German methods of military government. The civilian character of his authority was designed to emphasize the reluctance of Germany to establish military government in its full-fledged form, and his range of authority would not have been exclusive of the functioning of a Norwegian parliament. But when the Germans did not even obtain Norwegian acquiesence in their terms for reviving a deliberative body, they turned to the device of quisling State Councillors, mere administrative heads which represented a much more limited self-government. At the same time the authoritarian possibilities in the office of Reich Commissioner were developed, largely at the behest of Nazi Party extremists who had designs of political co-ordination for Norway which greatly exceeded the ends of the Wehrmacht. The Reich Commissariat developed into a means of controlling life more systematically than was possible under purely military administration; at the same time it made possible a concentration upon basic policy decisions in view of the relegation of all military responsibilities to the Wehrmacht and of routine matters to the Norwegian administrative machinery. Yet this type of administration also realized in some degree the original German plan of painless control, for it not only adopted the State Councillors and the Nasjonal Samling as symbols of Norwegian self-administration but purported (despite substantial modifications of the Norwegian body politic) to confine its interferences within the boundaries set by the law of belligerent occupation.

B. ORGANS OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND OTHER GERMAN AGENCIES

1. The Wehrmacht

a. Functions in General

For two weeks the Wehrmacht was the supreme German authority in Norway. Its head, General von Falkenhorst, had in his first proclamation to the Norwegian people promised that this authority would be temporary and exercised with mildness. But in his second proclamation, April 14, issued under the impact of the persistent resistance of the Norwegian people and their government, von Falkenhorst, threatened the Norwegians with "the severest and most relentless means" of crushing any opposition:

> Any one who assists the mobilization ordered by the former Government, now evacuated, or anyone who spreads false rumors, will be court-martialled.
>
> Any civilian who is found carrying arms will be shot.
>
> Any one found guilty of the sabotage of the means of transport or communication or of public undertakings will be shot. Any one making use of war material which offends against international regulations (e.g.,dum-dum bullets) will be shot.
>
> The German Army, victorous in many a battle, the large and powerful Air Force, and the Navy will see to it that this my proclamation is enforced. 1/

After the establishment of the Office of Reich Commissioner on 24 April, the Wehrmacht assumed a much more limited role, its authority being limited by, though in principle co-ordinate with, the juriddiction assigned to the civilian authority. Hitler's Proclamation of 24 April 1940 defined the status of the Wehrmacht commander as follows:

> The commander of the German troops in Norway has charge of the military supreme court. His decrees in the civil sphere are only executed by the Reichskommisssar To the extent that, and so long as the military situation requires it, the commander of the troops has the right to take the steps which are necessary to discharge military duties and to render Norway militarily secure. 2/

The Proclamation added that the commander of the German forces

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1/ Curtis, Norway and the War,p.73.
2/ Vbl. Nor.,6 May 1940, p.1.

in Norway had aat his disposal the German police organs to the extent that military needs should require and the tasks of the Reich Commissioner permit.

In a memorandum of 13 December 1940, von Falkenhorst recognized the changed status by instructing his subordinates that members of the Wehrmacht must scrupulously stay out of "riots, assemblies, demonstrations, and brawls" whose origins were political.1/ The Wehrmacht confined itself to the sphere of military operations and issued decrees in the civil sphere only insofar as these were essential to military needs. This power, however, would become very broad in case of a full-scale invasion. Even under ordinary circumstances, however, the military functions of the Wehrmacht impinged directly or indirectly upon civil affairs. This was especially true of the measures of its Economic Planning Staff (see below) concerned with the exploitation for military needs of Norway's natural resources and industry. In fortified areas the Wehrmacht was supreme.

b. The principal commanders, of the Wehrmacht in Norway, at the end of 1943, were as follows:

Commander in Chief of the German Forces in Norway	General Nikolous von Falkenhorst
General in Command of Mountain Troops	General Major Valentin Geurstein
Commander in Chief of German Naval Forces in Norway	Admiral Ciliax
General in Command of Air Force Operations	Air Force General Hanse Jürgen Stumpff

c. The Principal Military Agencies

The following agencies all have tasks related directly or indirectly to civil affairs:

(1) War Economy Staff Norway (Wehrwirtschaftsstab Norwegen - We-Wi-St), planned industrial production for the German armed forces in Norway. (See below H1,b.)

1/ Aftentidningen, 25 September 1943.

(2) Chief Intendant of the Armed Forces (Chefintendant der Wehrmacht). The Chief intentant was the highest authority on questions of economics in the immediate sector of the armed forces. (See below,H1,b.)

(3) Transport Command (Transport-Kommandantur Oslo TK) with local transportation officers and station masters. (See below,H,b.)

(4) Motorized Transportation (Armee-Oberkommando 6b Abteilung für Kraftfahrzeuge --AOK or"Kraft") with local officers. This handled requisitions by the armed forces of motorized vehicles and boats, as well as repair work done by garages.

(5) Oberster Truppenbetreuungsoffizier. This officer co-operated with the RKN Chief Propaganda Division. RKN provided tobacco, alcohol, radio equipment, etc., while the Oberster Truppenbetreuungsoffizier made arrangements for visits by German artists, motion picture and theatrical performances for soldiers, bookstores, and sporting events.

(6) Inspector of the Land Fortifications North (Inspekteur der Landesbefestigungen Nord -- Pi-Stab). He was in charge of coastal defense fortifications. In addition, he had considerable influence in the section Forestry, Labor, and Price Administration in the Reich Commissarat and on the Engineering Division of the Organization Todt.

(7) Defense Staff (Abwehrstab -- Ast) with local officers. The Defense Staff co-operated with the Reich Commissariat division of the Higher SS and Police Leader North, particularly with regard to protection against espionage and commando raids. It was also the highest authority on censorship on foreign mail. In the latter capacity it co-operated with the Reich Commissariat of Post and Telegraph.

(8) Military Post master (Armee-Feldpostmeister) with local military post offices.

(9) Territorial Section Chiefs of the Army. These officers co-operated with regional sections of the Reich Commissariat, with officers of the economic services on the spot, with local officers in charge of railway stations and transportation, with local defense officers, with the Security Police, and with the Organization Todt. They supervised the civil population in the course of patrolling the streets and controlling communications.

The Territorial Section Chiefs are appointed by, and subordinate to the local Commanders (Ortskommandanter) who, with troops of the Army, formed a unit. The Local Command appointees represented the liaison in relation to the civil population. To this extent they were chiefly concerned with the functions of the Quartermaster Corps and the Communication Police, and cooperated with regional offices of the Reich Commissarat.

(10) The Field Police. This military police force is also adjoined to the Local Commander's. Its chief function in Norway was to supervise the discipline of the troops and to prevent black market operations by and with the soldiers.

d. Agencies Co-operating Closely with the Wehrmacht

Though formally independent of the army, the two agencies discussed below co-operated very closely with the Wehrmacht in Norway.

(1) The War Marine Service (Kriegsmarinedienststelle). The War Marine Service operated ships supplying the military forces in Norway. Administratively it was under the Commission for Ocean Transport at Hamburg. Within Norway there was a central organization at Oslo and seven regional units--at Oslo, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, Narvik, Trons, and Kirkenes. The Service collaborated with the Economics Division of the service branches of the Wehrmacht.

(2) The Organization Todt And the Speer Transport Organization (Transport Flotte Speer)

Working in close relation with the Wehrmacht on a quasi-independent basis was the Organization Todt. The Organization Todt was active on projects formulated by the War Economy staff of the armed forces, especially on fortifications and highways. On the trunk highwaysin the northern provinces its workers included many political prisoners, some Norwegian and others foreign, especially Russian and Servian. The Organization Todt had close connections with the Landesgruppe Norwegen of the NSDAP, the Party organization of German civilians in Norway. The key liaison figure in 1943 was Dr. Feuchtinger, who was leader of the Einsatzgruppe Viking within the Organization Todt, as well as head of the Technical Department (Haupt - Amt Technik) of the Landesgruppe Norwegen. He was concerned with labor supply.

(3) Speer Transport Organization (Transport Flotte Speer)

The Speer organization was concerned exclusively with bringing up supplies to the Organisation Todt. It worked with the RK See. Otherwise, it was part of the Organization Todt.

2. The Office of the Reich Commissioner (Reichskommissar für die besetzten norwegischen Gebiete)

a. Jurisdiction

The Office of Reich Commissioner which, as indicated above (see A 3) was not established until two weeks after the Wehrmacht had invaded Norway, had a jurisdiction and function which must be defined in terms of its relation to the authority of the Wehrmacht. Hitler's Proclamation of 24 April 1940 establishing the office declared that the Reich Commissioner was the supreme governmental authority in civil affairs. While the Wehrmacht could issue decrees in civil affairs when military needs required, yet the supremacy of the Reich Commissioner in civil affairs was recognized by the stipulation

that such decrees were to be executed by the Reich Commissioner (except when the military situation made direct execution imperative). In carrying out his decrees the Reich Commissioner could make use of German police organs, which, however, could be used also by the military to the extent that military needs required and the tasks of the Reich Commissioner permitted.

Aside from the rights reserved to the Wehrmacht, there were no limitations upon the authority of the Reich Commissioner. He alone could judge the extent to which German interests required the invalidation of Norwegian laws, which otherwise remained in forde. He could create new laws by decrees, which were to be published in a Verordnungsblatt for the occupied Norwegian territories. He could make use of any Norwegian authorities for carring out his decrees and exercising the administration.

In general the decrees issued by the Reich Commissioner pertained to the protection of obvious German interests. An example is the comprehensive decree of 12 October 1942 1/ by Terboven which specified the death penalty for a long list of activities, including entering or leaving Norway without permission, spreading propaganda on behalf of an enemy state, listening to foreign broadcasts, dealing with prisoners of war or other prisoners held by the Germans, or helping such prisoners to escape, withholding from the German authorities any information relating to sabotage, propaganda, military invasion, etc.

b. Organization

While the Reich Commissioner was declared in the Proclamation of 24 April to stand directly under the Führer, political supervision of the office was in the hands of the Fuhrer's Chancellery at Berlin. Eventually the task of co-

1/ Vbl. Nor., 26 October 1942, pp. 22-24; cf. also ibid., 26 September 1942, pp. 26-27.

co-ordinating Norwegian affairs with the various related branches of German administration was assigned to the Section for Norwegian Affairs of the Reich's Ministry of the Interior. 1/ The head of this Norwegian Section was Wilhelm Stuckart.

Standing below the Reich Commissioner was a Deputy--a post held originally by Dr. Delbrügge, a former district president in Vienna who played a prominent role in the negotiations of 1940 with Norwegian political leaders. His unofficeal successor was Hans H. Neumann, also leader of the Einsatzstab (see below), while his administrative functions were taken over by District President Koch.

The RKN had its headquarters in the Storting building in Oslo. Headquarters took charge of the administrative business in general and also of the affairs of cert in areas: Oslo and its environs, and of the provinces of Akershus, Ostfeld, Vestfold, Buskerud, and Telenark. In other provinces there were local branch offices (Dieaststellen), which functioned under a regional commissar. (see Appendix II.)

Early plans may have contemplated no very elaborate organization, but by 1943 the office of the Reich Commissioner had developed into a large organization with a staff of more than a thousand people in Oslo alone.2/ It had originally three main departments: the Administration Department, first headed by Delbrügge and later by Dr. Koch; the Economics Department, headed by Senator Carlo Otte; and the Propaganda Department, superintended by Dr. G. W. Müller. (see Appendix I.) Later there was added an Engineering and Technical Department,

1/ RGBl.,16 December 1941, p. 765.
2/ It came to occupy some four to five hundred offices in the Storting, Odd Fellow, and Oslo Labor Association buildings.

the administrative responsibility for which was divided, Henne (later in charge of the Organization Todt) being responsible for technical matters, and Klein for roads. Less definately intergrated into the office, but clearly a part of it, were a Labor Service division, headed by Bormann and von Maltitz, a Postal and Telegraph Division headed by Herzer, by the Germann Police Service in Norway (Dienstbereich des Höheren SS- und Polizeiführers Nord) under General Rediess, and the NS Einsatzstab.

The Einsatzstab (Task Staff) was the link between the Party and the Reichskommissariat and controlled the Party in Norway. The Einsatzstab was Department VIII in the Reichskommissariat and was represented in Department I, Administration, in matters of internal and foreign policy. It was represented in all Party organizations and in some of the Quisling formations; for example, there was an SS officer for the Hird. Its function was twofold: to control the German colony in Norway and to influence Nasjonal Samlihg as its collaborator and imitator. The Einsatzstab leader was also the leader of the NSDAP Landesgruppe, chief of the Security Police, and unofficial deputy of the Reich Commissioner Terboven.

3. The German Police Service (Dienstbereich des Höheren SS-und Polizeiführers Nord)

a. Functions and Powers

Hitler's decree of 24 April 1940 authorized the use of German police forces in Norway by the Reich Commissioner, to execute his decrees, and also by the Military Commander, if the military required. Thus in the sphere of police matters directly affecting German decrees or interests the Germans took direct action, utilizing Norwegian police also but only in an auxiliary capacity. As repressive policies increased the use of german police became more extensive.

Terboven added materially to the potential authority of the German police by his decree of 31 July 1941 relating to Extraordinary Civil Emergencies. 1/ It stated that the Reich Commissioner could, when he deemed it expedient, decree an extraordinary civil emergency for specified territories or for the entire country. In such an event the Higher SS and police authority might take all means required to re-establish or maintain public order and safety. It was under this authority that Terboven acted on 10 September 1941 when he decreed a state of civil emergency for certain areas in and around Oslo and Rediess announced a series of restrictions. 2/ A few days later Rediess announced that the SS and Paline Court North had passed a dozen severe sentences. 3/

b. Organization

The German Police service in Norway was headed by SS Major General Wilhelm Rediess. The above-mentioned decree of 31 July 1941 specified that the chief of the German police might assign the authority given him to subordinate police or to the Norwegian police. The German police had two branches: regular police services and auxiliary services.

(1) The Regular Police Services

(a) The Order Police. The Order Police was headed by Police General Major Hürning with headquarters at Oslo. Its duties were the guarding of military prisoners and of the Technische Nothilfe was incorporated in the Order Police. Some of the guard battalions assigned to watch military prisoners and industrial installations were Waffen-SS battalions at least in part they accepted Norwegian recruits.

(b) The Security Police and the Security Service of the SS

The most notorious branch of the police service was the

1/ Vbl. Nor., 2 August 1941, pp. 17-18
2/ Meddelelser fra Skiosfartsdirektøren, 18 September 1941, pp.13-14
3/ Ibid., 2 October 1941, p. 12.

Security Police, including the Gestapo, which set up headquarters in Viktoria Terrasse, formerly the locale of the Norwegian Foreign Office and other government offices. The Security Police was organized in three sections -- an Executive Section the Criminal Police, and the Security Service. In 1943 the Security Police employed a staff of 511 persons at headquarters, of whom about 150 were in the Security Service. Placed in charge of the Security Service was SS Colonel Fehlis. The Security Police maintained several prisons and concentration camps, the most notorious being Møllergaten 19 in Oslo, Grini, near the capital, Ulven . See Appendix V. The Gestapo worked through a countrywide network of Nasjonal Samling informers; in Alesund, for example, there were six or seven groups working in each of eight districts, all feeding data into Gestapo channels.

(c) Other Regular Police Services. There were altogether four regular police services. In addition to the Order Police and the Security Police the Germans had Air Raid Protection Police and Factory Guard Police; the latter two, however, were of relatively little importance.

(d) SS Units in the Regular Police. The Higher SS and Police Leader could draw upon SS formations for special police duties, incorporating them in either the Order Police or the Security Police. Both the Allgemeine SS and the Waffen-SS were organized in Norway; the former, with its headquarters in Skoyen Hovedgaard near Oslo, was headed by SS Oberstürmbannführer Pettersen. The Waffen-SS was used for the formation of guard battalions in connection with the guarding both of prisoners and of military and industrial installations. While such battalions were composed largely of Norwegian recruits, they were incorporated in the regular Police. A Norwegian SS was started in the spring of 1941 with Minister of Police Jonas Lie as its head. In midsummer

of 1942 it became the Germanske SS Norge (see E 6), units of which appear to hav; been intended as political police who might relieve German troops for service elsewhere.

In 1944 a special police company, motorized, well armed, and wearing SS uniforms, was first used to apprehend refugees from the labor conscription who were hiding in the forests.1/ It was called VZ (Zur Besonderenx Verwendung and apparently was a German undertaking.

(2) The Auxiliary Police Services

The four auxiliary police services dealt with (1) personnel and general supervision, (2) passports, (3) recruiting for the Russian front and for agricultural aid in Eastern Germany, and (4) care of illegitimate children of German soldiers and Norwegian mothers. 2/

Wehrmacht SS elements in the office of the Reich commissioner competed for jurisdiction over the last of the above mentioned functions. A decree of 28 July 1942 signed by Hitler and Keitel 1/ sought to provide certain allowances and special considerations for children born of German military fathers and for their Norwegian mothers. Wehrmacht courts decided on the cases to receive aid; 2/ arrangemments for extending aid were to be made in conjunction with the Reichcommissioners of Norway and the Netherlands, the two countries to which the decree applied. Clearly it was an effort by the Wehrmacht to shield mothers and children involved from some of the social ostracism which they had to face. A decree of 13 February 1943 signed by Keitel 3/ elaborated some points in the earlier decree, making clear that the military authorities retained close control over the whole procedure.

1/ Vbl. Nor. 26 October 1942, pp.21-2.
2/ The number of such children was three thousand or more by the end of 1943.
3/ Vbl. Nor. 29 June 1943, pp.15-19.

This matter of protecting social purity interested also the SS. On the initiative of Himmler after a visit to Norway in 1941, there was founded the Lebensborn organization. A Lebensborn (Fount of Life) section was set up in the police section under the Reich commissioner and put under an SS Leader in Race and Colonization matters (SS Fuhrer in Raise- und Siedlungswesen)

A decree of 13 August 1943 by Terboven 1/ extended application of the 13 February decree to children of other than military personnel. By authority of the Reich Commissioner a decree of 26 October 1943 specified that in cases involving children of either military or civilian German personnel the administration of all the grants was under the jurisdiction of the Lebensborn section of the police service of the office of the Reich Commissioner. 2/

4. German Courts

a. Military Courts

If one is to judge from paragraph five of Terboven's speech of 25 September 1940, the original German intention was to leave the judicial organization of Norway undisturbed. From the outset, however, the Wehrmacht had to protect itself against various forms of Norwegian resistance, and German military courts exercised wide jurisdiction over offenses committed against the German Armed Forces, their equipment and premises. Military courts had jurisdiction over the violators of decrees pertaining to the surrender of arms, to measures against English spies, to unlicensed radio transmitters,

1/ Ibid., 17 August 1943, p. 27.
2/ Rediers, the head of the German police, took a personal interest in this matter. He prepared for a restricted private circulation of twenty copies a book entitled SS fur ein Grossgermanien-Schwert und Wiege, in which he treated in some detail the administration of the aid given in Lebensborn cases, showing how mothers were graded in several categories on the basis of racial and ideological fitness for bearing worthy children to serve as a link between "people of similar blood."

to the photographing of military objectives, and to unauthorized departure from Norwegian territories.

Aside from jurisdiction over acts inimical to the Wehrmacht the military courts in time yielded ground in most matters to other courts. Two fields not strictly military in their bearing remained to them--the prosecution of vidlations of regulations governing postal and telecommunications generally, and the enforcement of measures for conserving the purity of German racial blood. The initial decrees of Hitler and Keitel in the second matter made a special point of emphasizing the role of Wehrmacht courts in handling cases. (See B3, b2.) The local commanding officers were to establish special local venue courts (Verneting) to have initial jurisdiction. 1/ Appeals might be taken to a Higher Military court Counsellor (Oberstkriegsgerichtsrat beim Wehrmachtsbefehlshaber in Norwegen)whose decisions were final. But Terboven's decree of 13 August 1943 specified that appeals were to go instead to the SS Richter beim Höheren SS und Polizeiführer Nord, though it was not clear whether this applied only to Lebensborn cases of civilian personnel or to the military as well.

b. SS and Police Courts (SS und Palizeigerichte Nord)

It was the SS courts which eventually cut most deeply into the jurisdiction of the Wehrmacht courts. The idea of having a court directly under the Reich Commissioner may have existed in the beginning 2/ and there is some evidence that SS and Police Court procedures were present in Norway from the outset. Provision was made in Terboven's decree of 31 July 1941, relating to extraordinary civil emergencies, for the creation of a summary court to be established when the Commissioner declared a state of civil emergency for an area. 3/

1/ Vbl. Nor., 1943, NO. 6.
2/ Vbl. Nor., 31 August 1940.
3/ Vbl. Nor. 2 August 1941,p. 17.

Such a court had extraordinary powers -- it might impose sentences of not less than ten years' imprisonment at hard labor or the death penalty, to be carried out on the spot. The enforcement of the sentence was entrusted to the leader of the German police and SS, which meant that these impromptu courts had close connections with the SS and Police Courts North which may eventually have superseded the summary court in practice.

The Police Courts North first came clearly to the attention of the Norwegians in connection with the state of emergency in 1941, when Terboven on 17 September, basing his authority on paragraph three, section two, of Hitler's enabling decree of 24 April 1940, decreed that the adjudication of actions involving violations of ordinances of the Reichskommissar could be assigned to the SS and Police Court North, whose head was SS Generalmajor Rediess.1/ Successive decrees extended its competence. 2/ In January 1942 it was given jurisdiction over persons not in the German Army or part of its retinue. Adjudication of a series of actions prohibited in earlier decrees, relating to possession of arms, radios, cameras, or to English spy activities, were specifically transferred from the Army court to the SS and Police Court North. In December 1942 this court was authorized to take jurisdiction over actions on their way through Norwegian courts if these actions concerned German citizens or involved the black market or other illegal price operations. Decisions were to be reached "through the application of Norwegian criminal procedures." The jurisdiction of the courts extended to Norwegian citizens and to foreign laborers.

1/ Ibid., 18 September 1941,pp.19-200.
2/ See the decrees of 21 January, 31 July, and 12 December 1941, Vbl. Nor., 24 January 1942,p3;5 August 1942,p11; 14 December 1942,pp.35-6.

(1) The German Court(De tsche Gerichtshof)

A German civil court was established by decree of the Reichcommissioner on 27 August 1940, known as the Deutsche Gerichtshof. 1/ Its seat was in Oslo but it could act anywhere in occupied Norwegian territory. It was to apply the general principles of German law and to take cognizance of offenses designated by the Reichcommissioner. Its jurisdiction excluded that of the Norwegian courtsbut the decree was not to disturb the competence of Wehrmacht or SS courts. Evidently a decree of 30 July 1942 expanding the jurisdiction of the SS and Police Court North 2/ made the German court superfluous

(2) The German Civil Court of Justice (Deutscher Zivilirichter beim Reichskommissar in Norwegen)

On 31 May 1944 Terboven established a new civil court, the German Civil Court of Justice, to sit in Oslo. It was giving jurisdiction over cases involving extraterritorial Germans and non-extraterritorial Reich Germans and German enterprises in matters concerning rights of labor and of property. T he jurisdiction of the court was exclusive. 3/ Decisions might be made by one judge, known as the Deutscher Zivilrichter beim Reichskommissar in Norwegen, who was appointed by the Reichcommissioner. There could also be several civil associate judges. Norwegian lawyers could function in this court but in labor cases they had to be cleared with the German Labor Front .

5. The NSDAP and Control of the German Colony in Norway

T here were about 250,000 civilian Germans in Norway during the occupation who have been controlled principally through the organizations of the Nazi Party, under the supervision of the Einsatzstal. (See above B2,b.)

In the first two years of the occupation, Norway was

1/ Vbl. Nor., 31 August 1940, pp.11-13.
2/ Vbl. Nor., 5 August 1942, p.11.
3/ Vbl. Nor., 1944, No. 4.

classified as a Landeskreis (regional organization) from the Party point of view. In May 1942 Norway was elevated to a Landesgruppe (National Group). In the Foreign Organization of the Party (AO), under Ganlerte W. Bohle, Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office.

The following Party organizations are known to have been active in Norway:

a. Deutsche Arbeitsfront: This organization controlled German manpower in Norway with methods similar to those employed in Germany. It did not exercise control over Norwegian manpower. It was authorized, however, to act on behalf of foreign workers in Norway from Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, and Italy: the Reichskommissar was in charge of those from the eastern territories. German military doctors serviced workers under Arbeitsfront supervision. There were certain shops where German is spoken.

b. Kraft durch Freude: The principal function of Kraft durch Freude seems to have been the provision by subscription of soldiers' homes, several of which were opened in 1941-42. The organization, presumably, ceased to function after the general mobilization in the summer of 1944.

c. S A: There is evidence of S A representation in N orway, but it is doubtful that the formation ever exercised functions of importance.

d. S S: See above "The German Police", B3,b(d).

e. HitlerJugend: This organization had a Gerbietsführer and a Standort Oslo. It cooperated closely with the N S Cinghird and provided for sending young Norwegian Nazis to Germany for training. In 1942 the Party was critical of the inadequacy of organization. Trondheim did have a temporary influx of several thousand Hitlerjugend volunteers who left in March 1943.

f. Women's Organizations: An active Frauenschaft was established in Oslo early in the occupation which cooperated with the N S women's organization. The Winterhilfe began to function under the Reichskommissar in November 1942.

g. Die Deutsche Gemeinschaft: This organization was set up in September 1943 to intensify the nazification of Germans and Norwegians of German birth in order to counteract dissolution tendencies which resulted from German defeats and enemy propaganda. It put pressure on Germans to join and attend meetings. The leader was the S S member, Hammer.

h. Volkssturm: There is no evidence that the Volkssturm as such was established in Norway. The German colony was, however, given training to prepare them for a military role in case of invasion.

C. THE ADAPTATION OF THE NORWEGIAN ADMINISTRATION TO TOTALITARIANISM

1. Introduction

Germany's initial intention, to judge from Hitler's enabling decree of 24 April 1940, was to endow Terboven with the power to issue decrees which the occupation made necessary, while assuming that such decrees were temporary and in force only until the Germans retired and left Norway to their quisling henchmen.

With Terboven's far-reaching innovations of September, however, the Germans, in conjunction with the quislings, embarked upon a long-term undertaking in the course of which fundamental Nazi changes were made in the constitution and the traditional political system of Norway.

2. The Commissarial State Councillors (Kommissarische Staatsräte)

The Germans gave the initial and the chief impress of totalitarianism to the Norwegian system when Terboven established on 25 September 1940 thirteen State Councillors as its administrative heads. (See above, A 5.) In relation to the lower levels of the Norwegian administration the State Councillors had a status suggestive of the Nazi leadership principle. Each one had the unlimited direction of the department which was assigned to him. The State Councillor not only was given exclusive authority in the application of Norwegian laws to his range of affairs; he was also empowered to create new law by means of decrees, which might also be used to amend, change, or cancel existing laws. He had, further, the right to appoint and dismiss subordinate officials. In general, those administrative decisions were entrusted to the State Councillor which previously had been made by the King, the Council of State, and the Storting. 1/

1/ Dr. Rof Schiedermair, "Die staatsrechtliche Entwicklung im Norwegen," Deutsche Verwaltung, 1941, pp. 31-5.

The subordination of the State Councillors to the Reich Commissioner was not only asserted in principle but safeguarded by definite provisions. They were responsible to the Reich Commissioner in all their acts, and the approval of the Reich Commissioner was required expressly for all decrees which deviated from the Norwegian Constitution. The State Councillors were responsible to Terboven individually; they did not form a cabinet with a power of corporate action.

On the first anniversary of their appointment the State Councillors received the title of "Ministers," 1/ and after 1 February 1942 some of their deliberations took on the features of a meeting of Ministers. A State Act of 1 February 1942 made Quisling "Minister-President"--a term unfamiliar to Norwegian constitutional practice. Article I of the "Announcement Concerning the National Government," of 5 February 1942, stated that "the Minister-President possesses the authority which the Constitution ascribes to the King and the Storting."2/ This change, of course, had no effect on the relationship of the government to its German superiors, as the Germans were quick to make clear: "Reich Kommissar Terboven's activity as Reichskommissar is not affected by the appointment of Herr Quisling as Minister-President. Reichskommissar Terboven will continue as the Führer's representative in Norway." 3/

The thirteen departments headed by State Councillors embraced all but two of the traditional Norwegian ministers, but the new departments Interior, Police, Culture and Popular Enlightenment, and Labor Service and Sport were typical of Nazi interests. The Department of Police, separated

1/ Vbl. Nor., 25 September 1941, p.23, The Norwegian administrative heads will be referred to as "Ministers" in referring to activities that followed their assumption of this title.
2/ Norsk Lovtidende, 1942,11, 72-3.
3/ News of Norway, 7 February 1942.

from the Justice Department, developed centralizing and extra-legal functions which served German repressive purposes. (See C 4, c.) The Department of Labor Service and Sport, regarded also as a Youth Ministry, made strenuous efforts to infuse Nazi organizational ideas into the sport world. (See G 5.) The Department for Culture and Popular Enlightenment (propaganda) brought under state control a wide variety of functions having to do with the shaping of public opinion.

The two old departments which were left out by Terboven -- Defense and Foreign Affairs -- seemed superfluous when an occupying power looked after Norway's interests. In a decree of 2 October 1940 Terboven transferred most of the residual functions of these two departments to the new Interior Department, and disposed of the remainder to other departments. 1/ For a time it looked as if the Germans expected much of Hagelin's Interior Department. The Department of Finance was apparently expected to serve as correlator of interests where this might be desirable, as in making up the regular budget.

3. Provincial and Local Government

Hagelin's Department of the Interior began to reorganize provincial and local government almost at once after the appointments in September 1940. The Nazification of local and provincial government was effected chiefly through a series of decrees issued by Hagelin's Department of the Interior. Preliminary moves were made in October 1940, 1/ but the major reorganization came in a decree of 21 December 1940. 2/ Together these laid the basis for the scheme that was put into effect in the first half of 1941. The basic principles were strong centralization, the leadership principle, and insistence on the co-operation of local officials in the

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, pp. 571,575,578,601.
2/ Ibid., 1941, pp. 10-15.

work of the New Order. In accordance with these principles, changes were effected in the status and functions of various provincial and local authorities.

a. Provincial Government

(1) Pre-War Provincial Government

Above the local government was that of the province (fylke), of which there were eighteen plus the two largest cities, Oslo and Bergen, which retained a rudimentary provincial organization. Each province had a council (Fylkesting) made up of representatives chosen by the herred councils; The fylkesting chose an executive committee (fylkesutvalg). The municipalities were not represented in the provincial council. The executive side of provincial government was represented by the governor (fylkesmann) who was an appointee of the central government essentially of the department of Justice and Police. His office had a dual character. He administered affairs of the province in conformity with decisions of the provincial council. Simultaneously he was an appointee of the central government and exercised some independent powers over local government matters.

(2) Post- Invasion Changes

(a) The Provincial Governor(Fylkesmann) The provincial governor was now chosen by the Department of Interior. The powers he exercised as an agent of the central authority -- he had wide appointive powers, for instance -- were greatly expanded. He might make decisions in matters which formerly were decided by the provincial council or by its executive committee.

(b) Provincial Council (Fylkesting). The representative body of the province was still made up of the rural chairmen with the members of their executive committees, (fylkesrad) but its chief function now was to listen to harangues by the provincial governor.

(c) The Executive Committee. (Fyldesraad)

The old provincial executive committe was replaced by a new provincial committee (flykesraad), also of four members. Whereas the old executive committee had been chosen by the provincial council the new provincial committee was appointed by the Department of the Interior. What power of decision its predecessor had enjoyed was put in the hands of the provincial governor.

b. Local Government

(1) Pre-War Local Government

Pre-war local government was characterized by a high degree of popular participation, though in financial matters a trend toward centralization had recently set in. The primary corporate units of local government were the herred, for rural areas, and the by for municipalities and cities. There were in pre-war Norway 65 bykommuner and 695 herredkommuner. Each one of these chose its own council (byting or herredsting) by popular election and proportional representation. Once elected, a council proceeded to organize itself by choosing one-fourth of its members as an executive body (formannskap), and then elected from this body a chairman (ordfører). He was chairmen of both the executive body and the larger council, and was also the municipality's legal representative.

(2) Post-Invasion Changes

(a) The Town and Herred Councils. These popularly elected bodies were replaced by a group of committemen (formenn) only one-third or one-half as many as the former councilmen, In no district could the number be less than six. They were not elected, but were appointed by the provincial governor on the advice of the provincial NS party leader and the local council chairman. The committee men, unlike the old councilmen, could only give advice; they did not debate and they did not vote, though divergent opinions had to be recorded in writing.

The eventual plan was to have the committeemen represent in their respective localities the basic economic grpups (in the spirit of the corporative idea), but this plan was not realized to any noticeable extent.

(b) The Local Council Chairman (Ordfører).

This local council chairman, formerly elected by the local council was now appointed by the Department of the Interior. Formerly serving as the chairmen of the council and of its executive committee, he how was the only local official empowered to take definitive action. When the chairmn presented a matter every committeeman had to express an opinion -- silence meant co-responsibility with the chairman -- but there was no voting and the chairman made the decision on his own judgmant. His action in turn was approved by the provincial governor. Meetings of the local chairman and his committee usually were open to the public but they could be secret at the request of the provincial governor or of the Department of the Interior.

4. The Norwegian Police

In Norway the administration of police and justice was traditionally combined in one department. Terboven on 28 September 1940 separated then and placed Jonas Lie in charge of the Department of Police. Under his direction, the Norwegian police were reorganized in July 1942 according to the pattern of the German system. Provision was made for an Order Police and for a Security Police. The fifty-six police districts into which pre-war Norway was divided were grouped into six regional offices or police presidencies, with a police president in charge of each. The six offices were at Oslo, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, Tromsø, and Kirkenes. Each police president had under him two police commanders, who were in charge, respectively, of the Order and the Security Police. In the local police districts, th

the organization of plice functions, devolving ultimately upon the bailiffs (lensmenn) in rural areas, formally remained much as it was.

a. The Order Police

The Order Police (headed by E.Y. Olbjørn) had to do with the maintenance of public order and with prosecution of minor infringements of the law. But some of its functions were related to conditions of war and occupation. It had to do with prices and black market conditions 1/ and with supervision of the civil air defense. Certain Preparatory or Emergency Detachments (Beredskapsavdelinger) were formed, the idea being to have one battalion of 380 men in each of the six police districts of the country, though by 1943 only the Oslo battalion actually was in service. The purpose was to co-operate with the police school at Kongsvinger, to raise recruits, and to form a police reserve.

b. The Norwegien Security Police (Sipo)

The Norwegian Security Police was composed of two divisions, the Criminal Police (Kripo) and the State Police (Statspoliti). The State Police, numbering about 130, with detachments at each of the police presidencies, was concerned with the ferreting out of political crimes. It also controlled the Passport Office (Germans were outside its jurisdiction). A border police of some 120 farmer youth was placed in nine or ten posts along the Swedish border to interfere with the movements of refugees seeking to escape.

c. The Extension of Police Powers

Under the Nazis the Powers of the Norwegian police were considerably augmented, particularly the inquisitorial powers. The systematic maltreatment of prisoners in the course of examinations evidently was not discouraged by the Minister of Police 2/ The police were given power to elicit evidence as

1/ Cf. Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, p. 704.
2/ Dagens Nyheter, 22 January 1942.

if they constituted a court of law. The Department of Police on 20 February 1942 announced that in a certain contingency it would take hostages in the ratio of ten to one. Another decree of the Department authorized the police to keep in custody any one suspected of offences against the Terboven decrees of 25 September and 4 Octover 1940. A decree of 25 March 1943 authorized the Department to take into protective custody, subject only to annual review, habitual criminals and others who were likely to commit offences against the public interest.

The basic intention, of course, was to have the Norwegian police forces correlate their activities closely with those of the German police and the military forees. In one of his early orders, Jonas Lie instructed his police to use the Nazi salute when on service, to take an active part in the work of Nasjonal Samling, and to place no hindrance in the way of the Hird's forceful methods. Close relations were established by Lie with the German police authorities, Himmler, Heydrich, and Delague, and his subordinates tried in their way to promote the same end. Some measure of success attended this effort. The Norwegian State police made itself thoroughly hated by the way it assisted the Gestapo but the bulk of the Norwegian police forces resisted Nazification. The best evidence of this is the fact that Quisling and his advisers in August 1943 found it necessary to proceed vigorously against the Norwegian police, (See I 2.)

Since the Norwegian police were reluctant to take up Nazi principles, the quislings and Nazis sought to recruit personnel from auxiliary groups and formations of Nazi hue. Thee Hird in particular was drawn upon as well as the Norwegian Legion (see E 2,) and the Germanske SS Norge (see E2). From these elements, military police companies were formed which could, if needed, be applied as freely against domestic

enemies as against invading forces. Members of the Hird and of Nasjonal Samling generally who served in the state police functioned as an effective link between the German and Norwegian police forces.

5. The Norwegian Courts

The Nazi and quisling effort to co-ordinate the Norwegian judicial system proceeded along two lines, namely, changing the procedures and personnel of the existing courts and establishing new tribunals.

a. The Pre-War Courts

The pre-war Norwegian judicial system was marked by a liberal use of conciliation procedures and by a substantial use of lay personnel, chosen by representative procedure. They constituted the cornerstone of the Norwegian judicial system. The following were the chief features of the system at successive levels.

(1) Preliminary Procedures.

Civil cases (if not too serious) were referred first to a forliksraad or conciliation council chosen for three-year terms by the local municipal or commercial council. Those not so settled were passed on to the local courts. Criminal cases were first handled by the local police, if minor, or in a court of inquiry (forhørsrett.)

(2) Local Courts

Courts of the first instance, the district court, (herredsrett) and the town court, (byrett) were competent to deal with both civil and criminal cases, though their jurisdiction was limited in criminal cases to actions calling for no more than five years imprisonment. These courts were composed of three judges, one professional and two lay.

(3) Appellate Courts

Civil actions of certain categories were carried to appellate courts (overretter), of which in 1940 there were

five, located at Oslo, Skien, Bergen, Trodheim, and Tromsø. This bench was composed of three professional judges who at the request of one of the parties might be supplemented with four lay judges. Appeals in criminal actions were taken from the district and town courts to the circut courts (Lagamnasretter) of which there were four, each with a bench of three professional judges. This court used a jury composed of ten persons (women served as jurors), seven of whom could render the decision.

(4) The Supreme Court (Hoiesterett)

Questions of law or of sentence might be taken to the Supreme Court, which was composed of seventeen experienced jurists 1/ appointed by the Crown. These judges usually broke up into two or more panels sitting simultaneously on different types of cases. Additional justices might be drawn in for particular matters.

(5) The Court of the Realm (Riksretten)

Cases of impeachment were brought before the Court of the Realm, a body made up of the judges of the Supreme Court plus the Lagting, the upper body of the Storting. Proceedings were initiated by the lower chamber, which functioned as the prosecution. This arrangement was a violation of the theory of the separation of powers. There had been much discussion over it, the Supreme Court holding that by the Constitution the courts were independent, while the Department of Justice maintained that the Constitution gave no warrant for such a conclusion.

b. The Attack on the Courts

The Nazi and quisling attack on the judicial system involved all levels of the judicial system. The basic intention was to disrupt the democratic procedures whenever

1/ The Constitution called for a minimum of the Supreme Justice and six associates.

possible and establish centralized control. A decree of 23 June 1941 1/ gave the Department of Justice greater freedom in admitting sympathetic applicants to the bar and in disbarring opposition lawyers already practicing. Lack of sufficiciently trained personnel, however, kept the quislings from securing complete control of the Norwegian judicial system.

Shortly after the quislings were established in office they began an indirect assault on the lower (and most democratic) ranges of the judicial system. A decree of 15 November 1940 set aside the universally employed principle of local appointment and gave the Minister of Justice power to appoint and dismiss members of the conciliation councils and the right to strike out names and add new ones to the panels of laymen throughout the country from which were chosen the jurymen and witnesses serving the courts. 2/

On 4 June 3/ Riisnaes decreed that jurors, lay judges, court witnesses (rettsvidner), and members of the conciliation councils were to be chosen by the chairman of the local council, who by this time was in many cases a member of Nasjonal Samling.

In the autumn of 1941 a direct attack was made on the jury principle as employed in the appellate criminal court. An ordinance of 3 September abolished the jury, (lagrett) and in its place put a bench of four lay judges (domsmenn) who, together with the three professional judges, were to decide cases as a plenum, five votes of the seven being necessary to determine guilt. The separate jury vote was thus eliminated.

The interference with the conciliation councils and panels of lay judges aroused the Norwegian Supreme Court. On 19 November 1940 its members addressed to the Department

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1941, p.502.
2/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, pp. 657-58.
3/ Ibid., .941,pp464-66.

of Justice a strong protest pointing out that the ordinance of 15 November exceeded any powers the occupation authorities might grant to the "Minister" under Article 43 of the Hague Convention, and that it likewise was in conflict with the Reich Commissioner's decree of 28 September 1940, which had recognized the independence of the courts. The supreme Court, in its capacity as "the Realm's higest representative of the judicial power", protested the ordinance. On 30 November, the German police arrested Emil Stang, one of the Supreme Court justices, an act which evoked further protests from the Court. On 3 December Terboven replied that it was not the business of a court to involve itself "in the political devlopment," and he denied the right of the Supreme Court to question the validity of his decrees or of the ordinances issued by the Ministers he had appointed. Two days later the Department of Justice lowered the retirement age for public officials from seventy to sixtyfive years and authorized the appropriate Minister to act accordingly -- the rule applied to eight members of the Supreme Court. Against this measure also the Court protested and on 12 December it forced the issueby resigning as a body under the leadership of Chief Justice Paal Gerg. It based this action upon the inability of its members to reconcile the Reich Commissioner's reasoning with their duty under the Norwegian constitution to test the validity of laws and administrative decrees. On 28 December the Department of Justice answered by announcing the appointment of seven justices to fill the vacancies; the chief qualification of all seven was party membership or sympathy with the quisling regime. The New chief justice was Jacob Andreas-Mohr, an arriviste of varied juristic background.

The newly constituted court in February 1941 ruled in effect that decrees issued by the occupying authorities were not open to question -- the principle for which Terboven had contended.

c. The New Courts

(1) The People's Court (Falkedomstolen)

Shortly after the commissarial Ministers were appointed in September 1940, Terboven took steps 1/ to establish a special Norwegian court, eventually known as the Folkedomstol. Its purpose was to deal with offenses against Terboven's decree of 7 October 1940 2/ which prohibited all activities in favor of King Haakon and the Royal family, or of the legal government in London, and his decree of 25 September 1940 3/ which prohibited any organization other than Nasjonal Samling, from carrying on political party activity. The new court was a tribunal to defend the interests of the state. Its title was an effort to translate the German term Volksgericht and connoted quite the opposite of the traditional meaning of the term Folkedom stol in Norwegian practice. There was to be a presiding judge, whose qualifications were similar to those of a justice on Norway's Supreme Court, and two associate judges. The three judges were to be appointed by the Commissarial Minister of Justice who would determine the rules and procedures of the Court. Decisions of the court were final.

Riisnaes in a decree of 8 November convirmed Terboven's decree and stipulated that two panels of associate judges would be attached to the court, one for the Haalogoland Circuit (in the north) and the other for the remaining circuits. 4/ A supplementary decree, 21 December 1940 5/ defined the role of the prosecuting authorities in submitting cases to it.

The Court began its sittings on 12 February 1941.

1/ Vbl. Nor. 5 November 1940, p.29.
2/ Vbl. Nor. 25 October 1940, p. 27.
3/ Vbl. Nor. 26 September 1940, p.19.
4/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, pp631-3.
5/ Ibid., 1941, pp. 9-10.

The quislings had difficulty in finding jurists of reputation. As presiding judge they chose Aalvik-Pedersen, a lawyer from Haagesund with no particular reputation. The court was a packed body from the outset. Safeguards for the individual were swept away by decrees of 24 January and 5 March 1941. The first abolished the right of an arrested person to be brought before a judge or a prosecuting authority within twentyfourr hours; the second provided that the consent of the people's court was needed before a private prosecution in any criminal court could be instituted, a device which could easily be used to defend friends of the party in power.

(2) Special Party Courts

In the late summer of 1943 Quisling announced the establishment of special party courts 1/ designed "to creste justice within the Party's ranks." These courts were to handle cases of party discipline, , dishonesty, and unworthy behavior, then much on the increase. The plan was to have one court in each province.

In connection with the effort to co-ordinate the police forces in August 1943, Quisling instituted a special court with jurisdiction over police officials (See I 2).

Two special courts of country-wide scope but limited party application were instituted by a Quisling decree of 11 May 1944. 3/ One court was to deal with cases brought against members of Førergarden (see E 7) and of the Hird as soldiers (including special Hird formations); the other was to handle cases against members of the Germanske SS Norge as soldiers. The presiding judge of each court was chosen

1/ A central Party court was in existence in 1942. Its head was Svene Riisnaes, The two other members were Herman Harris Aall and Finn H. Strom. NS Arbok 1942, p.34.
2/ A Special lagmannsrett had been established in 1940 to deal with inflation and prices. Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, p.705.
3/ In form the decree was an amendment to the provisional law of 14 August 1943 on law and order in wartime. (see I 2.)

for a definite period by the Department of Justice. The Department also was to appoint a panel of associate justices for each court making its selection from members of the formations concerned. Each court was composed of the chairmen and two associate judges, the latter being summoned for each case by the chairman. The prosecutor was the chief of the quisling formations involved or someone designated by him. The proceedings were public but the vote of the judges was not,

6. Centralized Control and Nazification of the Civil Service

Efforts by the quisling Comissarial State Councillors to "coordinate" the central administration began almost at once. A decree of 4 October 1940 by Terboven, issued to "lighten the load" of the Councillors in establishing the political New Order, authorized the transfer or dismissal of an official if he did not give evidence of an intention to work for the New Order. 1/

Decisions might be made individually by each Minister, though he was required to discuss the matter with the Minister of Finance. A circular in December 1940 called upon officials to work actively for Nasjonal Samling, and shortly thereafter applicants for positions were asked to support their applications with oaths of loyalty to the new regime. A decree of 16 April 1942, expressly provided for the dismissal of civil servants when circumstances so required -- a clear violation of the protection previously enjoyed by this group. By virtue of his pretended usurpation of the royal prerogative in becoming Minister President, Quisling could appoint, and in some instances dismiss, higher civil servants. In some of the departments but not all there was placed a strong NS man (Sambandsmen) assigned to look after the matters in which the

1/ Vbl. Nor., 9 October 1940, pp. 2-5.

Party was particularly interested. The weeding-out process made more progress in some departments than in others. In administrative sections where idealogy was not of primary importance, some compromisers and patriots managed to hold on to their positions.

In the process of "new-ordering" local government an effort was made to bring under direct control officials whose positions were regularly salaried. The best example of this was the town clerk (raadmann), an administrative official found in more important towns. Formerly serving the local authorities, he now was controlled by the provincial governor and was appointed by the Department of the Interior.

Throughout, there was an effort to establish direct lines of control and responsibility from the Minister of the Interior Department to the provincial governor to the local chairman.

A Quisling resolution of 23 April 1942 gave legal recogniton to the pivotal status of these positions by declaring certain persons to be "leading persons in the state or the Party" and as such protected by special penalties from misrepresentation of their decisions or acts. 1/ The "leading persons": in the Party, the Fører and those directly appointed by him in the Party's main organization or in the special NS organizations; in the state, the Minister-president, the Ministers, the provincial governors, and the local chairman (See above, C3,b(b).)

In staffing the provincial and local levels of the public service, with their members, the quislings had to be somewhat patient. It took a year to install quisling sympathizers in all the eithteen provincial governorships. (See Appendix IV.) A similar delay attended the effort to gain control of the chairmanships of the local councils,

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942,p.360.

though it is reported that from three to four hundred loyal chairmen were dismissed in the first year. Qualified party members to fill their places were often lacking. At times local government districts were combined. 1/ In some cases party members served as the chairman of more than one local council. Quisling claimed in 1942 that 80 percent of the local chairmen were members of the Party. Figures compiled by the legal government in London in 1943 stated that 424 local chairmen were known to be NS members, 8 were still loyal, 278 were "suspicious", while 38 were given as unknown.

It is difficult to estimate the replacement of patriots by quislings in local communities. There were cases in which Germans dismissed quislings and then restored them to their offices. In Kristiansand a consultative committe of councillors served for a time, in lieu of the regular city government. Oslo was without a council for nearly two years until a new council of thirty NS adherents met in November of 1942. (The pre-war council numbered eighty-four.) As late as 1943 two of the six town clerkships (ruaadmenn)in Oslo were held by non-Party men.

7. German Supervisory Administration (Aufsichtsverwaltung)

The day-to-day administrative work involved many contacts between the German and the quisling authorities. The relations between them have been characterized as supervisory administration. 2/ In theory the quisling administrative hierarchy was autonomous, but in practice officials of the office of the Reich Commissioner frequently intervened and took the decisive action, which was made easier by the fact that its organization duplicated to a degree the upper levels of the Norwegian administrative hierarchy.

1/ Cf., Ibid., 26 August 1942.
2/ See, for example Werner Best, "Grundfragen einer deutschen Grossraumverwaltung", Festgabe fur Heinrich Himmler, (Darmstadt, 1941), pp. 33060.

In some branches, notably the police, German interference was direct and constant, and Norwegian officials clearly played an auxiliary role. In other fields, especially the administration of local government and the regulation of cultural or social interests, it was more convenient for the Germans to leave decisions to the Norwegians after indicating clearly what was expected of them. Some of the higher quisling officials were oriented first-hand in their duties by trips to Germany to see parallel services in operation on the "home" ground.

The Germans freely assigned delegates and representatives to Norwegian offices. The Minister of Labor was replaced for several weeks in 1942 by a German SS man. A German liaison man in the Department of Shipping was at that time keeping a check on Minister Irgens. In the case of several departments it was reported that German liaison men had to approve documents before they could be signed by the Ministers. An amendment to the municipal law in March 1943 specified that every local Council Chairman(Ordfører)be assisted by a representative of the ReichCommissioner or of the local Ortskommandant. To match the regional and local Commissioners of the civil administration, the Einsatzstab Neumann had its emissaries (Berätere) in provincial and local Nasjonal Samling offices; one report in 1943 stated that Nasjonal Samling group leaders in several districts needed permission of the Neumann staff even to call a group meeting. The Germans also placed their representatives in semi-autonomous agencies and as "Treühänder" in some major industrial enterprises, particularly those of enemy nationals or of Norwegians who had fled the country.

How Nazi control worked out in every-day practice may be briefly illustrated from relations between the Press Directorate in Quisling's Department of Culture and Popular

Enlightenment and the Press Division (Pressabteilung) in the office of the Reich Commissioner. In handling the news both worked with the Norsk Telegram Bureau (NTB) which was "co-ordinated" under one quisling and one German director. The Norwegian Press Directorate gave NTB instructions on the space, typography, deletions, etc., of items of news on domestic Norwegian affairs. In the same way the Press Division in the Reich Commissariat gave instructions on foreign news matters, including teletype news and instructions just received from Berlin, and issued numerous directives prescribing the Press Directorate's sphere of authority. The Norwegian body was in effect a branch of the Press Division; it relieved the latter of much drudgery and gave novices of Nasjonal Samling training in serving the Nazi press.

When Quisling became Minister President in February 1942, Quisling certainly hoped and probably expected to be entrusted with responsibility for the Norwegian administration. At times developments moved in that direction. Quisling enjoyed Hitler's personal favor, but, as has already been indicated (see above, (2) it was made clear that the final word rested with Terboven. The Norwegian press was instructed in 1943 to refer to Quisling as "signing " decrees and laws, not as "issuing"them.

Only documents initialed by Terboven could be submitted for signature at the regular Thursday meetings of the "Ministers" at the Palace, and each Wednesday Quisling was required to confer with Terboven on the documents to be submitted the next day for discussion 1/ A German liaison was said to keep watch over Quisling at his residence Gemle. It was generally understood that on ceremonial occasions Hitler was to be cheered before Quisling, just as the German national anthem was to be played or sung before the Norwegian.

D. THE NASJONAL SAMLING -- NS (NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION)

The policies pursued by the Germans in Norway were, in the aggregate, the resultants of two major sets of forces -- the intrests of the German Wehrmacht and the ideology of the Nazi Party. The German military command, it is clear, never had much confidence in Quisling or his Nasjonal Samling party. Quisling's power and that of the party were originally established, and to the end maintained by, the influence of Hitler and Nazi Party extremists. As has already been noted, the intention of the Germans to use the Nasjonal Samling first became clear with Terboven's dissolution of the old political parties and his invitation to the members and sympathizers of this party to collaborate in the administration of the country. Their collaboration was manifested not only in their participation in the central government of Commissarial Ministers and in the civil service in general, but also in Party activities centered upon introducing in Norway a totalitarian state.

Reliance upon the Nasjonal Samling Party brought only a fragmentary and scattered success to the Germans, primarily because of the failure of Quisling's party to gain the allegiance of more than the smallest fraction of the Norwegian people. Had it not been for the intervention of leading Nazi Party members and of Hitler himself, the Wehrmacht might ultimately have taken over the administration of the country on a strictly military basis with little concern for National Socialist considerations.

Nevertheless, the Nasjonal Samling was regarded by Terboven and other Germans as an important instrument of control and influence, and to some degree operated as such.

1. General History

The Nasjonal Samling was essentially the creation of Vidkun Quisling. For many years before the invasion Quisling had been agitating questions of national unity and social solidarity. After the Agrarian Cabinet, in which he was Minister of Defense.

fell in the spring of 1933, he launched a new party. Which he formally registered on 17 May -- Norway's independence day -- andwhich he gave the name "Nasjonal Samling."

The Party program adopted in 1934 included certain basic principles, 1/ the most important of which were as follows:

a. A totalitarian trend. The Program's preamble announced that the Party's goal was "national unity without parties and class opposition." The preamble closed with the passage; "Norway once was one kingdom; it shall be one people."

b. A corporative bent. Economic and cultural life were to be organized around professional groups. 2/ These were to provide the connection between the individual and his state. Something was promised to nearly every professional and occupational group, but the old trade union leadership was clearly out of favor.

c. An emphasis on the leadership principle. Governmental control was to be further centralized and the knowledge of the specialist to be better utilized (suggesting the approach of the technocrat).

d. An active foreign policy. Defense forces were to be strengthened. Norwegian Arctic interests were to be asserted with vigor. Closer ties were to be sought with peoples related to the Norwegians in race, culture, and other interests.

Thus the Nasjonal Samling program embodied principles which contemplated profound changes in the state and the social order. The party was to be the instrument of these changes. As Quisling once declared: "The Party is over the state and uses the state to build society."

In the Storting elections of 1933, the party secured 27,850 votes, but it elected no member to the national parlia-

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1/ The text is given in NS Årbok 1942, pp. 27-30. The official history states that Quisling drew up the outlines of the program while he was in Petrograd.

2/ Ibid., p. 108. In the formative years of his movement, Quisling was influeced not a little by the corporativism of Mussolini's Fascism.

ment. In 1936, it took part in the elections on a nation-wide basis but the results were disheartening -- it garnered only 26,577 votes or 1.87 percent of the total. Again it elected no member to the Storting. After 1936 little attention was paid to the party until the German invasion. At the beginning of April 1940 Quisling was in Berlin for conferences from which he returned on the eve of the German attack.

Since 1940 the outstanding events in the party's history were as follows: (1) the abolition, on 25 September 1940, of all parties in Norway except Nasjonal Samling and the appointment by the Reich Commissioner of thirteen commissarial councillors to head the Departments of government (see B 7); (2) the designation, on 25 September 1941, of the Commissarial Councillors as "Ministers" with amplification of their powers; (3) Quisling's assumption of the office of Minister-President in February 1942; the announcement, at the party's eighth nation-wide rally, on 25 September 1942 of a Cultural Council (Kulturting) and the adoption of plans for a Council of the Realm (Riksting).

The importance of the Nasjonal Samling in Quisling's view is indicated by this declaration in 1942 that Nasjonal Samling was the "state-sustaining" party. 1/ On the same day Quisling was made Minister-President, he issued a law covering "Defense against Certain Assaults on the State and the Party" 2/ which in prescribing penalties treated the two as a single entity. Fresh evidence of the close association intended between the Party and the state, as well as of the intention to order society hierarchically, was furnished by a quisling

1/ A decree signed by Quisling, Fuglesang, and Hagelin read: Law Concerning the Party and the State, Article I. Nasjonal Samling is the state-sustaining Party in Norway and is firmly bound to the state.
2/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942, II, 139.

decree 1/ in the fall of 1944 specifying rank and precedence in the Party and the state. Their functionaries were divided into ten ranks, officials of both being freely grouped together in a single rank. Elevated above this scheme were the Ministers and the presidents of the Council of the Realm, the Cultural Diet, and the Economic Diet, (see K) and of course the Fører himself.

But it was indicative of the Party's declining fortunes that plans to commemorate on 25 September 1943 the third anniversary of the appointment of the commissarial ministers by the establishment of an Economic Diet (Naeringsting) were cancelled and that Quisling and his associates had to listen to the reading of a letter from Hitler on Norway's post-war status in the community of European nations. Quisling's party was handicapped by its paucity of numbers -- estimates have run from 25,000 to 50,000, with the figure 30,000 most frequently cited -- and also by no little dissension. Part of the trouble involved the question of the succession to Quisling in case he should disappear from the scene. In turn, Ministers Hagelin (Interior), Lie (Police), and Whist (Economic Affairs), have had their brief periods of ascendency. Lie, in charge of police and head of the Germanske SS Norge should be classed with the extremists who eventually might retain control. Whist in the summer and autumn of 1944 enjoyed high favor. Hagelin clearly was on the way out. The zealots in the Party have attacked the so-called "Free Masons" in its ranks. The former are found partly in the Hird but principally in the ranks of Germanske SS Norge. Defections from the party have been frequent since Italy deserted Germany in 1943. In 1944 Quisling and the leaders were much concerned with preparations for tightening their control to meet the

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1/ Norsk Tidend, 13 September 1944, p. 8.

threat of Allied invasion.

2. NS Party Organization

a. Central Organization (Riksledelsen)

Much of Nasjonal Samling's organization developed after 1940. In its basic pattern the organization followed Hitler's NSDAP as its model. Quisling was the leader (Fører). Several party agencies at the center were loosely grouped under the term Riksledelsen (Leadership of the Realm). 1/ Included were a chancery, (Førerens Kanselli), headed by Ørnulf Lundesgaard, and a secretariat (NS Generalsekretariat), headed by Minister Fuglesang. The secretariat had divisions for personnel matters, education, war volunteers ('Front Fighters Office), and press and propaganda, the branch chief of the latter being Willy Klevenberg. Other branches of the central organization were NS Riskorganisasjons Avdeling (headed by J. A. Lippestad), concerned with the national problems of the Nasjonal Samling organization, and NS Riksøkonomiavdeling (headed by John Thronsen), concerned with national finances of the party, which included an office for planned economy (in charge of E. Hoffstad).

Designed to help Nasjonal Samling carry out its role as the "state-sustaining" party were the Personal Secretariat (Førerens og Ministerpresidentens Kanselli), headed by Lundesgaard, and the Secretariat of the Council of State (Statsraadsekretariat), headed by Finn Thrana.

b. Provincial Organization (Fylkesorganisasjon)

On the provincial level Fylkesorganisasjonerae functioned. Roughly their jurisdiction followed the regular province but the names of the jurisdictions in several cases were names derived from the Old Norse and not the modern province names. In charge of each provincial organization was a leader (Fylkesfører). He had a staff of assistants -- one for each of the following matters: organization, personnel,

1/ NS Årbok 1942, pp. 31-33.

finances, propaganda, the press, the Hird, the women's organization, the youth organization, the trade unions. Each Fylkesorganisasjon was divided into a number of krets (county units), generally half a dozen, each with a leader (Kretsfører) and a staff like that attached to the province leader. In turn each krets was composed of several lag (local units), headed by a lagfører. There was no effort to supply the lagfører with a staff. (See Appendix IV.)

3. Auxiliary NS Organizations

In order to realize its aim of controlling as many phases of life as possible, Nasjonal Samling, like its German counterpart, unfolded a variety of organizations, all fitted into the over-all pattern of Nasjonal Samling purpose. Each organization had at its center a staff of half a dozen or more people specializing on the usual Nazi functions, including always the ubiquitous propaganda leader.

a. The Hird

Like its counterpart, the SA in Germany, the Hird came into existence as a force to protect speakers at Nasjonal Samling rallies from the "rowdyism" of communists, social democrats and other opposition elements. By the end of 1941 the Hird had reached its largest membership, perhaps ten thousand members. 1/ Theoretically, however, all Nasjonal Samling male members between eighteen and forty-five were to belong to the Hird.

In concrete political terms the purpose of the Hird could be summed up in these functions: (a) educating Norwegians in the spirit of the New Order; (b) providing an auxiliary organization which might help the Germans to patrol frontiers or repell invasion, or which might supply the nucleus of a police organization for defending the political position of Nasjonal Samling; and, (c) serving as a pool from which the Germans

1/ A Swedish source early in 1942 gave twelve thousand but these are reasons for doubting this total. In 1944 the number may have been only half this.

could draw to fill up their police contingents.

The structure of the Hird organization reflected the assumption that members of the Hird were political soldiers, prepared to promote the Party's cause by armed combat as well as by propaganda. Its leader (Hirdsjef.) 1/ was assisted by a staff of roughly a dozen people, each specializing in one of the usual Nasjonal Samling functions -- organization, personnel, propaganda, sport, etc. The chief of staff of the Hird in 1942 was Thorvald Thronsen.

The Hird was much drawn upon as a feeder for other services, especially for soldiers for the Eastern Front. Thus in 1941 it supplied recruits to Regiment Nordland and to the Norwegian Legion. Later the Hird established its own military formations, a series of seven Hird regiments, 2/ each with a regimental staff, and each composed of three companies (Sveit), each including three troops (Tropper), which in turn were divided into three groups (Lag). A central Hird leaders' school was set up in February 1943 to train three hundred leaders annually for troop leaders and higher ranks.

There were many indications that the Hird was used for significant duties on the home front. A secret information service of the Hird was organized in May 1941, under German police supervision to spy on activities within the Party. Its special duties were to study the effectiveness of Nasjonal Samling propaganda, to guard against any attempt at provocation within Nasjonal Samling, and to watch persons, associations, and organizations outside the Party who could be regarded as hostile.

1/ Until 1944 the Hirdsjef was Oliver Møystad, his successor was the Chief of the Norwegian security police, Colonel Marthinsen.
2/ The seven regiments were named and based as follows: Viken (Oslofjord), Eidsiva (Opland and Hedemark), Hafrsfjord (south and southwest Norway), Gulating (Bergen region), Frostating (Trondheim region), Halogaland (three northern provinces), and Viking or Regiment 7 (Oslo and environs). By 1944 the Hird's military organization had apparently been regrouped into three "companies."

From the Hird were chosen the 150 or more members of Quisling's own personal guard. On ceremonial the members helped to keep "order" on the streets, and they assisted in extra-legal raids and acts of oppression, e.g., against Jews. They protected radio stations near Oslo and Bergen. So-called "Watch Battalions" were known to have helped guard German as as well as Norwegian prison camps. Some were drawn upon to help or supplement special German or frontier police. After the police crisis of August 1943, there were various indications that the Hird was given extensive police powers. Hird members were early given a privileged position over against the police, including a claim to be tried before the People's Court for offenses arising out of their work. (See above, C 5, c (1).)

Apart from the Womens' Hird and the juvenile Hird groups, there were two specialized Hird organizations. The Hirdmarine, founded on 5 May 1942 to train seamen of all ranks for the Norwegian marine, supplied some volunteers for the German marine forces. It was headed by Bertil Brun until he was superseded by Thorleif Fjelstad late in 1943. The Hird Air Corps (Hirdens Flykorps), founded on 1 March 1942, supported a training school and had a score of gliders but no engine-powered craft. Its recruits served German rather than Norwegian purposes. It was headed by a Captain Eliassen.

b. The NS Women's Organization (Nasjonal Samling Kvinneorganisasjon -- NSK)

The NSK was formed in 1932. In the early period use was made of the cell system; 1/ that is, five friends would be won over, then each in turn assembled five more, etc. The organizational network covered the country. The foremost aim was to bring political education into the nome by inducing mothers "to sow the first seeds of National Socialism in the

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1/ NS Årbok 1942, p. 122.

social group." 1/ The organization interested itself in home-making problems, charitable activities, and the encouragement of recruiting, especially for the Norwegian Legion. (See E 2.) After 1942 the organization had a publication of its own, Heim og Aet (Home and Race), edited by the national leader, who after 1941 was Olga Bjoner. She gained some notoriety in 1943 through unsavory black market activities.

c. The NS Women's Hird (Nasjonal Samling Kvinnehird -- NSKH)

The NSKH was organized in Stavanger in 1943 as a first-aid and nursing unit. Branches were soon established in Bergen and Oslo, and after 1940 a country-wide organization was effected. The national leader from 1941 was Johanne Martin. The work, in addition to nursing, involved general NS work and propaganda. After the German attack on Russia in 1941, volunteer units of nurses and welfare workers (Hirdlotter), organized as women volunteers (De Kvinnelige Frivillige), saw service on the Northern Front with the Norwegian Legion. (See E 2.)

d. The NS Youth Organization (Nasjonal Samling Ungdomsfylking -- NSUF)

The NSUF, was started in the summer of 1933. Most progress was made among university students; the earlist student supporters included names later familiar in Nasjonal Samling circles such as Rolf j. Fuglesang and Ørnulg Lunfesguard. The NSUF was intended to displace the familiar youth organizations such as Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. In February 1942 the secular Young Peoples' societies were "new-ordered" and brought under the jurisdiction of the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment. At this time the Youth Labor Service was instituted and NSUF was clearly intended as a nation-wide directing agency for this comprehensive effort to co-ordinate Norwegian youth. From the NSUF were to be recruited the leaders

1/ Ibid., p. 125.

for the Youth Labor Service.

e. The NS Students' Organization (Nasjonal Samling Studentfylking -- NSSF)

NSSF started at the University in Oslo at the opening of the academic year in 1933, but its activity languished until the invasion in 1940. Units were established also at Trondheim, Bergen, and Ås. A Munich unit was also organized in 1941, for quisling students in Germany. The leader of NSSF was Rolf Holm, an official in the Department for Labor Service and Sport.

The Youth Organization and the Students' Organization were in close relations with one another at points involving labor performance. The Norsk Landtjeneste was designed to encourage work on farms. In 1942 this service placed boys and girls of NSUF in twenty-two camps around the country. 1/ The Germansk Landtjeneste, under the leadership of Einar J. Rustad, was a section of the Germanic Land Service of the Hitler Youth Organization, designed to recruit young people for work on farms in occupied areas of Eastern Europe. In 1942 about two hundred Norwegian boys and girls were induced to go to Western Poland (Wartheland), where they were distributed in eleven camps. This service languished after the great Russian victories of 1943-44.

f. The NS Agrarian Groups (Nasjonal Samling Bondegrupper -- NSBG)

NSBG was the name applied to a service which after 1940 passed through several changes of name and personnel. Its basic purpose was to carry on propaganda for the New Order among agricultural societies and the farmers. The first leader in the propagandist work was Steinar Klevar, but in 1942 he was succeeded by T. J.O. Fretheim, who was simultaneously Minister of Agriculture. The propaganda leader of NSBG was T. Harstad. 2/

1/ NS Årbok 1942, p. 121.
2/ NS Årbok 1942, pp. C 39, 140-41.

g. The NS Occupational Group (Nasjonal Samling Faggruppeorganisasjon -- NSFO)

The NSFO was founded in October 1940. It had from the outset a corporative slant, for it was designed to reduce industrial strife by bringing management and labor closer together in individual trades and industries. For the prevailing "horizontal" organization of trade unionism it sought to substitute its own "vertical" organization. Branch offices were established and organization was elaborated along functional lines, such as handicrafts, communications, shippings, etc. 1/ Erling Olsen was in charge of organization, and Odd Melsom was propaganda leader. In the autumn of 1941 NSFO made a frontal attack on the Norwegian trade unions and on the employers' associations. The attack proved to be a significant effort to "new-order" the Norwegian economic structure.

h. The NS Relief Organization (Nasjonal Samling Hjelporganisasjon -- NSH)

The NSH was established by a quisling decree of 29 June 1941, but did not become active until late in 1941. By Christmas some two thousand needy individuals and families had been helped in various ways, the aid, according to the official account, ranging in each case from fifty to three hundred kroner. In the following year a nation-wide organization was established under the leadership of Paul Follegg. NSH was exclusive in its tendency and jealous of any other relief activity, including the Red Cross. Somewhat grudgingly it recognized the extensive feeding program carried on in 1943-44 among Norwegian children and old people by the Swedish Relief for Norway. After the invasion of 1940 the organization grew rapidly and developed an elaborate structure with the usual subdivions on personnel, organization, finance, education, sport, social affairs, and press and propaganda. 2/

1/ Ibid., p. 134.
2/ See NS Arbok 1942, pp. 36-7.

Party members to the age of twenty-five could be enrolled. There was an Unhird for boys from fourteen to eighteen, and a Guttehird for those from ten to fourteen. Girls from fourteen to eighteen might join the Jentehird, while those from ten to fourteen might enroll in the Småhird. There were special units such as the NSUF Radiokorps, the Unghird Marine which prepared for the Hirdmarine, and the NSUF Flykorps which led to admission to Hirdens Flykorps. Separate units were organized in 1943 for children between four and ten years of age.

The titular national leader was Stang, the Minister for Labor Service and Sport. As reorganized in 1941 operative responsibility was entrusted to a staff corps headed by Sverre Tidemand Rund, who was also the National Boys' Leader. The National Girls' Leader was Kirsten Saltvold. NSUF came to have its own publication, Nasjonal-ungdommen and Vardevakt.

E. MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

The Norwegian quislings were used for German purposes not merely in the framework of Norway's internal life but also in connection with Germany's war against Russia. The Nazis sought to evoke loyalties to a Cross Germanien which was alleged to be gravely menaced by Bolshevism, and a number of the quisling leaders lent their support to this line of appeal. The most concrete manifestation of their interest was the successive formation of para-military organizations, every one of them, except possibly the Germanske SS Norge, being deeply concerned with the war against Russia.

1. Regiment Nordland

The first references to the Regiment Nordland appeared in January of 1941, when Quisling appealed for volunteers. The regiment was to be attached to the Waffen-SS under the Standarte Nordland, and from the outset it was subject to German control. Two Ministers, Lie and Riisnaes, after joining the regiment saw service in the Balkans, but the bulk of the recruits -- at one time reported to number six hundred -- served on various sectors of the Eastern Front after the German attack on Russia. Casualties were heavy and eventually it seems, the unit, was dissolved.

The original members of the Regiment took an oath to Hitler and to Himmler and were required to learn German. Clearly the unit was meant to serve German purposes first, but there appears to have been some thought that the Regiment would eventually be important in dealing with internal Norwegian conditions. The recruit was offered a stake in his country; one year of service gave him a claim on a government post, two years entitled him to German as well as Norwegian citizenship, and three

years of service gave him a claim to a farm. A quisling-controlled paper stated that one of the rights of the volunteers was to return home as "champions of the Great Germanic thought." 1/ There was a rumor in April 1942 that the volunteers would form the core of a new conscript Norwegian army.

2. Norske Legion (Norwegian Legion)

The Norwegian Legion was launched in July 1941 as a completely Norwegian organization. The idea was to rally anti-Bolshevik, anti-Russian, and pro-Finnish sentiment and to raise military units to fight Russia. On the left arm of their uniforms the legionnaires were allowed to wear the badges of the former Norwegian army and the Norwegian flag. They were to have non-political officers and were promised Norwegian military regulations. By the end of 1941 affairs of the Legion had been very largely taken over by the Germans, primarily the Waffen-SS. A group of three hundred recruits left for Finland in July 1941, but the first (Viken) battalion of seven hundred went to Germany in August for training. In 1942 the Legion suffered heavy losses on the Eastern Front.

3. SS Panzergrenadierregiment Norge

As the Norwegian Legion fell into the background, the German authorities undertook to establish a formation under Norwegian command into which might be incorporated all the Norwegian Eastern Front volunteers. A decree of 5 March 1943 established the SS Panzergrenadierregiment Norge, which was to be associated with the earlier SS Division Viking. Recruiting was entrusted to Germanske SS Norge. A special effort was made to enlist former front-line fighters and Norwegian officers. Enlistments lagged, however, and special inducements had to be offered, among them tax exemption, easier university admissions,

1/ Aftenposten, 28 January 1941.

lands in conquered territories, job priorities, and family allocations. 1/ The reward for two years of service was the right of German citizenship.

4. Norges SS

Norges SS was founded to provide Norway with an SS organization of its own. The Nordland Regiment had been attached to the Waffen-SS, and occasional Norewgians no doubt had joined the SS as individuals. Himmler swore the first 151 recruits, all Hird members, into Norges SS on 21 May 1941. The recruits went into training at Elverum but when the Russo-German war broke out the Norges SS members were largely absorbed in the Norwegian Legion. By 1942 there was no clear evidence that Norges SS any longer existed as a distinct fighting or training unit.

Members of Norges SS took an oath to Hitler but it was explained later that this oath was to Hitler not as the chief of the German state but as the supreme leader of the Germanic society and peoples. At first Norwegian quislings were uncertain about the purposes of the new organization, but Himmler emphasized the duty of SS men to spread the Germanic spirit and to people the Germanic Lebensraum. Members of Norges SS took a second oath to Quisling. In some quarters it was thought that Norges SS was meant to join German SS forces in attacking Norwegian resistance forces and that members would be used to defend Quisling and his associates in extreme necessity.

5. Front Soldatforbundet (Front Soldier's Association)

From the outset Legion members were promised that when the Eastern Front fighting ended the Legion would return "and together with the Nordland Regiment form the core of the new Norwegian army." In June 1942 there was formed a Front Soldiers' Association (Front Soldaforbundet)

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1943, pp.170,234,375,

the cardinal point of whose program, according to its leader, Major Quist, was "the construction of a new Norway." In the main, however, the Association office proved to be concerned with providing comforts for troops at the front, caring for wounded, and engaging in veterans' welfare work. Members of the Legion at the front were served in 1942 by detachments of the Legion of Women Volunteers trained partly by German officers and sworn to soldiers' oath to Hitler.

6. Germanske SS Norge

As Norges SS faded out of the picture it was replaced by the Germanske SS Norge, which was not a part of Waffen-SS but was intended for work on the home front. Established by a decree of Quisling on 21 July 1942 -- Minister of Police Jonas Lie was made head -- the new organization was launched with much fanfare. In each province there was to be a recruiting office. Candidates were to undergo a four-week training course at Kongsvinger, combining political orientation with practice in the use of weapons. Much emphasis was placed upon the organization's personnel as an elite. Admission depended upon a list of typical SS qualifications which especially emphasized racial purity, a constant theme of Germaneren, the fortnightly publication of the formation. After training, members were to return to their individual pursuits, ready to be summoned, as Lie put it, whenever the struggle "against Jews, plutocrats, and Bolsheviks" required. Lie declared that the object was to form a company of resolute men around Quisling: "No one shall surpass this formation in loyalty and blind obedience to the Frer." Evidently the intention was to establish an inner defensive ring to safeguard the interests of the Party.

Though small in numbers, Germanske SS Norge proved to be an obstreperous formation. Its rejuvenation of Norse pagan ceremonies offended moderates within Nasjonal Samling who had no special quarrel with the church. Its extreme emphasis upon racial purity gave concern to those who were not enthusiastic over the idea of a bridge between Norway and the Germanic world. Its attacks on the Free Masons was a source of uneasiness to many. Its competition for favor in high places was resented by the Hird. From the ranks of Germanske SS Norge came a number of the extremists who were prepared to go to any lengths to maintain Nazi rule in Norway by suppressing the home front opposition.

7. Other Organizations

Of limited and specialized importance were such para-military units as Quisling's personal guard under the leadership of Per Carlson, (Frergarden) 1/ the Armed Hird Battalion, and the Ski Battalion of Norges SS. Two militarized police companies (there were several such) saw service on the Eastern Front.

1/ N S Arbok 1942, p. 36.

F. CONTROLS ON THE CHANNELS OF INFORMATION AND CULTURAL EXPRESSION

The quisling "ministers" soon made it clear that, in collaboration with the Germans, they meant to control all the channels of information and cultural expression in the interest of Quisling ideas and collaborationism.

1. The Press

Control of the dissemination of news began in April 1940 with the appointment of one quisling to replace the head of Norsk Telegram Bureau (NTB) and of another to head the news section of the state broadcasting service. Throughout the summer of 1940 increasing pressure was applied to Norwegian newsmen and editors by the Press Division of the Office of the Reich Commissioner, which had been formed on 10 June 1940, but the pattern of Nazi press control became fixed only after the appointment of quisling Ministers in September 1940. As it then took form it was made up, on the German side, of the Press Division (Pretssabteilung) under the Reich Commissioner, headed by a German named Moser, which had branch offices in the provinces. On the Norwegian side the press was supervised by a Press Directorate formed in the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment and headed by Anders Beggerud, a former schoolmaster who was inexperienced in journalism. A Press Leader in each province checked on local editors and reported to Beggerud. By and large, control was exercised through directives which both the Nazi and the quisling press offices issued freely. The Beggerud office received instructions from that of Moser, of course, whenever any conflict arose. In February 1942 the press was definitely subjected to the control of the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment. 1/

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942, II, 75, 103-4.

The aim sought by the German and quisling administrators in controlling the press was acquiescence rather than the dismissal or resignation of editors. There was an effort to have editorials approved beforehand or to place quisling journalists or representatives in editorial offices to control the expression of editorial opinion. Control was sharpened after Quisling became Minister-President. In order to launch newspapers it was necessary to have prior permission; advertisements were closely controlled, and only journalists from the quisling-controlled Journalists' Association (Journalist Foreningen) could work as journalists. 1/

The Norwegian newspaper profession yielded only slowly to the pressures brought against it. Arrests, dismissals, and suppressions for shorter or longer periods were frequent during the first year of occupation, but resistance was individual rather than organized. Gradually the regular press became almost completely Nazified. The number of new Nasjonal Samling organs started was not large, for the Nazis sought rather to influence established media to change their policies and fall in line. The long-term effect, however, was to reduce the number of publications. Because of consolidations and suppressions the 280 or more newspapers existing before the invasion were drastically reduced in number. A statistical table in 1942 showing the status of 148 papers indicated that 17 had been taken over by the Nazis, 31 had been "new-ordered" and 51 had been suspended or stopped (in some cases because editors had been arrested). The remaining 49 apparently had still not been wholly co-ordinated. After 1941, loyal Norwegians had to depend very much on the growing effectiveness of the underground press.

1/ Ibid., pp. 102-3

2. The Radio

a. The Norwegian Broadcasting Service (Norsk Rikskringkasting)

Radio broadcasting in Norway was "new-ordered" in such a way that stations and periods were divided between the Quisling programs and the Nazi programs intended for the German civilian and military personnel in Norway. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company, (Norsk Rikskringkasting), which operated the Norwegian radio, was soon "new-ordered" and place under the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment. For several years the director of programs was Eyiind Mehle, who was separated to have retired early in 1944. All groups of Norwegian listeners were appealed to -- Nasjonal Samling members and sympathizers, loyal Norwegians, and loyal Norwegian sailors under United Nations' colors.

In programs for Norwegian sailors, broadcasts purporting to come from seamen's families were much relied on. The appeals to loyal Norwegians at home, could not be very effective after 1941 since only the quislings were allowed radios; a decree of Terboven on 1 March 1941 demanded the general relinquishment of radios. At the outbreak of World War II, the registered radio listeners in Norway had numbered nearly 425,000, a figure which had increased somewhat by April 1940. Under German rule this number was reduced to 8,000 or 9,000 licensed sets, practically all in the hands of quislings. The radio sets had been turned in on the assumption that they would be stored and later returned, however, no less than 100,000 sets were declared confiscated on one occasion (as a punitive measure for a demonstration on King Haakon's birthday in August 1942). Confiscated sets were apt to find their way to Germany. The home front leaders were

kept in touch with the outside world, however, partly by secret radio facilities.

b. The Norwegian Broadcasting Company (Norsk Rikskringkasting A/S)

A decree issued on 28 October 1943 by Quisling provided for the establishment, on the initiative of the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment, of Norsk Rikskringkasting A/S to take over the properties and functions of the Norwegian Broadcasting Service. 1/ The new company acquired monopoly rights in the Norwegian radio field. In order to carry on its activities the company was to obtain a license from the Minister President and its activities were to be supervised by the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment. The Department was also to regulate the granting of receiving licenses. The decree left with quisling the right to frame the statutes of the company and to decide on its capital. Later developments suggested that 50 percent of the stock of the company was to be subscribed by the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment, and 50 percent by a combine of German radio factories. The prevailing distribution of radio receivers meant that German influence would necessarily became predominant in the matter of programs and interpretations.

3. The Motion Picture Industry and the Theater

a. The State Film Directorate (Statens Filmdirektort)

The cinema soon felt the new Nazi impulses. A central control body known as Statens Filmdirektorat was set up under the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment with Leif Sinding as director. The producing companies, including the state-supported Norsk Film A/S, were taken over but production was in practice limited to

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1943, p. 636.

newsreels. Control of the import of films was authorized by a Department decree of 1 January 1941. The chief outside sources being German and Swedish films. The latter were well received but the former were uniformly boycotted.

b. The State Theater Directorate

The central agency for control of the stage was the State Theater Directorate established on 1 July 1941 under the Department of Culture and Popular Enlightenment. It was given power to license both theaters and actors. Successive decrees defined working conditions, prohibited plays by "Jews, emigres, or authors from enemy countries, as well as Swedish and French plays," and demanded the political loyalty of artists. In response to an artist's strike in the spring of 1941 protesting against participation in propaganda broadcasts, the Germans agreed that actors would not have to take part in political activities. In September, however, the actors were faced with contracts calling for participation in such broadcasts. Under threats of a new state of emergency, many signed although they tried to evade broadcasting. As soon as quislings assumed control the theaters were largely boycotted.

G. THE CO-ORDINATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

1. The "Forty-three" Protest

On 3 April a protest was addressed to Terboven by spokesmen and officials of twenty-two Norwegian organizations which objected to the loose manner in which trusted employees in the civil service were being dismissed and reliable NS members were being chosen as replacements in disregard of their lack of professional qualifications. This protest was renewed on 15 May by representatives of forty-three national associations, -- professional, cultural, and civic -- representing such diverse groups as druggists, architects, lawyers, scientists, customs officials, engineers, and labor unions.

Terboven made his reply on 18 June 1941 by addressing the forty-three signers who had been assembled under police guard in the hall of the Storting. Terboven declared all scientific groups dissolved and assigned "commissioners" to watch for illegal activity in others. All public servants signing the protest were dismissed; the heads of five of the protesting organizations were arrested immediately and eight signers were also arrested.

As quisling commissioners took over, the governing boards of the various associations withdrew. This in turn gave the cue to the rank and file of members, from whom now flowed a torrent of resignations until, in some cases, no real organizations remained. Although the Nazis gained possession of certain properties they failed to attain a broad front of "co-ordinated" associations.

The quislings were persistent, however, and in one profession after another they "new-ordered" old organizations or launched new ones into which they hoped to fit the membership of occupational groups. The process still continued in 1944, when the groups affected were

the venerable Selskapet for Norges Vel the building trades, and the Norwegian Missionary Society. A Quisling decree of 17 June 1941 authorized Hagelin to see to it that all societies and associations not strictly economic in their aims should be grouped in an Office for Associations (Foreningskontor) placed directly under the head of the Interior Department. 1/ The Minister was empowered to place NS representatives in charge and to confiscate their funds.

2. The Teachers and the Educational System

a. Elementary and Secondary Education

The effort to co-ordinate the teaching profession led to one of the major conflicts of the occupation. Soon after 25 September 1940 Skancke, a former professor of electrical engineering at Trondheim who had been recently appointed Minister of the Department of Church and Education, began issuing circulars intended to refashion the school system. Together with stipulations designed to purge teachers, pupils, and ideas antagonistic to the new order, the policy was announced that henceforth appointments to teaching positions were to be made not by local school boards but by the Department, and before the year ended a number of school boards had been dissolved. During the state of emergency in September 1941, many school buildings were taken over by German forces and school life was much disrupted. In July 1942, the leadership principle was introduced in the school boards and in August 1942 an order required these chairmen to be members of Nasjonal Samling.

The major crisis in the school situation arose in February 1942 and stemmed from an important ordinance promulgated directly after Quisling became Minister-President.

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1941, pp.490-1.

This decree created a Norwegian Teachers' Association (Norges Laerersamband) 1/ and required all active teachers to become members. Its rules were to be drawn up by the Department of Church Affairs, and it was to be headed by a national leader chosen by Quisling. The first leader was Orvar Saether, a former chief of the Hird staff.

In the spring of 1942 the teachers' struggle took on major dimensions and became one of the significant undertakings of the resistance front. 2/ Compulsory membership in the new teachers' organization was rapidly repudiated by about twelve thousand of the country's fourteen thousand teachers. Teachers were threatened with dismissal and schools were closed in an effort to force retraction of the resignations. When the schools reopened on 8 April the teachers throughout the country read to their pupils a notable manifesto, reiterating their protest against membership in the "new-ordered" association. On 21 April Terboven intervened and brought German authorities into the picture on the ground that the teachers' action was a strike and thus an attempt to disturb public order. In the face of universal public opposition the Department of Church and Education relaxed its demands soon after the German authorities joined in the controversy. On 25 April the Department withdrew its threat of dismissal for failure to join the Teachers' Association.

b. Higher Education

On the college and university level loyal quislings in time replaced the heads of the major institutions, and

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942, II, p.70.
2/ See Norway's Teachers Stand Firm, (Washington, 1942) issued by the Royal Norwegian Government's press representatives.

the student associations at Oslo, Trondheim, and Ås were dissolved or placed under Nasjonal Samling control. The rector (president) of the University of Oslo, D.A. Saip, who had been a respected member of the Administrative Council in 1940 (see A2), was arrested during the crisis of September 1941. The attack on the students in December 1943, ending in the deportation of some seven hundred students to Germany, was not so much a plan to "new order the university as it was a move to strike down opposition which might interfere with last-minute defenses in case of invasion.

3. The Church

The German authorities at first refrained from interfering with the Norwegian Church perhaps expecting that, as a state church, it would prove quite amenable to the wishes of the state.

But after Stancke was appointed Minister of the Department of Church and Education, leading churchmen grew concerned. Leaders of the various groups met unobtrusively to take counsel of one another in October 1940 and perfected the Council for Joint Deliberation (Kristent Samraad) to dismiss problems created by Nazism. Concern was increased by such moves of the quisling authorities as the demand that a prayer for Nasjonal Samling be substituted for the regular service prayers for the King and the Storting. The decree of 13 December 1940 1/ suspending the pledge of silence regarding private confidences which Norwegian law required of professional people. 2/ The issue which brought the Church to an open break with the quisling state was control of the young. Two decrees early in February

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, pp.713-14.
2/ By Norwegian law, ministers, lawyers, and physicians were forbidden to betray personal confidences save to protect an innocent party.

1942 raised the issue. One decree sought to force Norway's teachers into the new Norges Laerersamband. (See above H2.) The second specified that all Norwegian children between ten and eighteen were to serve in the Youth Service associated with the NSUF. 1/ (See above. D 3, d.)

The Church viewed with dismay the Party's assertion of a monopoly over the training of Norwegian youth, excluding the influence of parents, church, and democratic school system.

The bishops on 14 February sent to Skancke's Department a letter voicing complete opposition to the Youth Service decree. The bishops protested also against a move by the Department to mark the day that Quisling became Minister-President by forcing a quisling clergyman, Blessing-Dahle 2/ on the congregation at Trondheim. In ensuing developments the Dean of the Cathedral was dismissed; so too, before long, was Bishop Berggrav as well as all the other bishops.

Quisling them assumed the leadership of the church and set about to appoint his own quisling bishops and deans. The rank and file of the Norwegian clergy resigned from their pastorates (all the deans had resigned on 26 February), and on 5 April 1942 they read from their pulpits a long s tatement explaining why in religious matters they could accept the authority of no entity outside the Church. The authorities threatened dismissal and before long cut off salaries, but the pastors continued to be supported and to carry on strictly religious duties. Finally, when Bishop Berggrav was arrested with four other church leaders, the

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1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942 II p. 72.
2/ Blessing-Dahle in 1943 was made chairman of the newly formed NS Pastors Association.

Germans intervened, being reluctant to have futher trouble with the Norwegian Church, for the time being at least.

But on 26 July the Norwegian Church, through a long statement read from the pulpits made the final break. 1/ Bishops, deans, pastors, and congregational councils -- all were enjoined to continue in their religious duties and to ignore the dismissal actions of the state authorities.

When the regular clergy resigned their official positions quisling authorities made a move to create their own church administration. Quisling assumed the leadership of the church and appointed a new set of "bishops," none of them, of course, being episcopally ordained. Lars Froyland was made bishop of Oslo.

The traditional dioceses were partly rearranged in July 1942.

Little success attended the effort in October 1942 to"co-ordinate" the congregational councils of the parishes by having council members, heretofore chosen by the congregations, appointed by the "bishops." During the crisis in 1942 the loyal clergy adopted a Temporary Church Leadership (Den Midlertidige Kirkeledelse) consisting of six members headed by Hallesby. In August 1942 Quisling declared this body dissolved and arrested two of its members, but his action only drove the leadership underground. The quisling authorities at various times made efforts to renew negotiations, but without success, and small-scale sniping at the clergy continued.

4. The Farmers

Vigorous efforts were made within Nasjonal Samling to enlist the farmers, a group which the principle of "blood and soil" commended, in the Nasjonal Samling Bondegrupper (NSBG). From September 1941 plans were

1/ Hoye and Ager, op. cit., pp. 126 ff.

under way to bring all the farmers' organizations, including the Nazi groups, into an over-all federation, to be called Norges Bondesamband, in which the NSBG would be the leavening element. Various devices were used to induce the governing bodies or the general memberships to vote voluntarily for entrance in the quisling body, but without success. In case after case officials of the farmers' organizations were forced out of office and their places taken by quisling sympathizers. A decree of Quisling on 18 March 1943 1/ gave Norges Bondesamband broad and detailed authorization to look after the social, cultural, and economic interests of the farming population. On the professional side a hierarchy of control was established. The Department of Agriculture was represented in each province by a Landbruksjef, who was also the provinces's official peasant leader. The Agricultural Office (Landbrukskontor) of each province chose the district local Agricultural Committees (Jordstyrere) but did so in consultation with the Provincial NS Leader. T.J.O. Fretheim, the Minister of Agriculture, functioned as an active link between his Department and the farmer groups. But efforts to woo the Norwegian farmers for Nasjonal Samling ideals had only sporadic results. On all sides there was opposition and resignations poured in. The chief gains were made among a scattering of wealthy farmers and timber growers in the southeast and east central part of the country, among whom were many who were attracted by rising food prices and the black market.

5. Sports and Athletics: The Norwegian Sports Association (Norges Idrettsforbund)

Some of the first efforts of co-ordination were

1/ Fritt Folk, 22 March 1943.

undertaken in the field of sport and athletics, which, in pre-war Norway, was well organized. Under the new quisling Department of Labor Service and Sport, a decree of 22 November 1940 1/ abolished the National Associations and established the Norwegian Sports Association (Norges Idrettsforbund), which was intended to bring under centralized control all sports clubs and associations. At the head of The Nowegian Sports Association was placed a Chief of Sports. Special leaders under the national leader were chosen for different branches, such as football, skiing, tennis, etc. A geographical organization also was elaborated, the whole country being divided in to thirty-two districts, each headed by a district sports leader aided by district leaders for particular sports. Local clubs could nominate candidates for these positions but appointments were made by the national leader.

There were difficulties about filling in this scheme of organization since there were not always enough Nasjonal Samling sportsmen to fill all the positions. Efforts to stage large athletic contests usually were failures. The loyal athletes led an almost universal boycott of the Norwegian Sports Association.

6. Labor

Norway's pre-war labor movement had attained a position of commanding influence, which was evident politically in the role of the Labor Party, which since 1935 had formed the government of the country, and economically in the strong trade union organization. This organization was grouped chiefly around thirty-five national unions (representing perhaps 350,000 members) which were combined in (Arbeidernes Faglige Landsorganisasjonen -- LO the National Federation of Trade Unions).

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, p. 665.

Almost at once, the Germans began to undermine LO's position. A decree of 23 April 1940 forbade strikes and lockouts and assigned to arbitration or to German decision all disputes involving failure to reach wage agreements. Union expenditures were subjected to controls, and pressures on the labor press led in August to the cessation of the leading labor daily, Arbeiderbladet. After the quislings were admitted to power in September LO's president Konrad Nordahl, and secretary, Lars Evensen, were dismissed in the face of widespread opposition in the labor ranks. The new president and vice president were Jens Tangen and L. Buland, who in turn proved less pliable then desired. At the end of the year the quislings tried to replace the entire LO secretariat with dependable Party members.

In the first year of occupation Nazi labor policy had seemed sometimes to reflect divergencies between the quislings and the Germans. The latter were concerned lest production levels in some lines fell too low. LO leadership at one point thought that there was an opportunity to co-operate with the Germans against the quislings, particularly when in January 1941 Terboven called the president of LO into direct negotiations and told him that henceforth LO need not be concerned with politics, i.e., that Nasjonal Samling interference with the trade unions would be held in check.

German sentiments changed definitely when officials of LO were found among the "Forty-Three" in May 1941. (See above, G 1.) The occupation authorities wished the trade unions to select new officers to replace those arrested, and on 14 July LO was notified that trade union affairs would henceforth be handled not by the Reich Commissioner's Social and Labor Department, but by a

newly formed Directorate for Labor Organizations (a plan later abandoned).

A crisis in labor affairs was reached on 8 September 1941, when workers in the iron nd metal trades, later joined by other branches, served notice in Oslo they would refuse to work until the regular factory breakfast with milk rations, just abolished, was restored. During the evening of 9 September Terboven proclaimed a state of civil emergency for Oslo, and a court martial bulletin by Redies during the evening of 10 September announced four heavy prison terms and two death sentences. Various associations not connected with the trade unions -- the YMCA, YWCA, Boy and Girl Scouts, the Salvation Army -- were dissolved. Ten directors in the Norwegian Employers' Association were arrested and replaced by Nasjonal Samling members. The Gestapo during these days may have arrested upwards of 2,000 persons.

On 17 September Terboven suspended the state of civil emergency. The Gestapo was left, however, to deal with continued refusals to pay labor union subscriptions, and the civil emergency law was to be applied again to any interferences with industrial peace of with supplies.

LO was given a new leader, the quisling Odd Fossum 1/. The unions were expected to carry on their work but commissioners were assigned to them who were to have a decisive voice in their councils. Nasjonal Samling began a program of "Co-ordinating" LO, the thirty-five national unions being eventually reduced to thirteen. The quislings sought to replace as many permanent officials as possible in the unions, but they often lacked personnel.

In the summer of 1942 quisling plans were made to use the trade union structure to form a Labor Front to

1/ Reported replaced in September 1944 by Olaf Hoff.

include both workers and employers, as a part of the contemplated corporative Riksting. (See below G7,) This move was violently opposed by the underground trade union leadership, which urged the rank and file to resign en masse. The membership did so and Quisling concelled the plans for the Riksting. Nasjonal Samling labor leaders were left to rule only a skeleton organization and virtually abandened the hope of "new-ordering" Norwegian labor. An ordinance of 6 March 1943 however, provided for replacement of the usual union delegates in industry by an NS labor delegate for each industry. In May 1944 the Labor Front in effect took over what was left of the LO organization. Germans and quislings sought to put in effect a long series of labor controls and a labor levy -- especially in connection with the Labor Service and the National Labor Contribution. (See H 8, b.)

7. The Project of the Corporative Society

Behind the effort to co-ordinate many specific phases of organizational life there was a plan to arrange Norwegian society in toto on the corporative principle, which reflects the fact that Quisling led.

Point two of the basic NS program announced the intention of arranging Norway's cultural and economic life in "legalized self-governing occupational associations" which were to form the connecting link "between the individual and the state, under the state's control." It was promised that the occupational associations would be organized in a Riksting (Council of the Realm), "to be given influence on the government of the Realm."1/The quislings proposed to reorganize group life in a hierarchic arrangement, placing leaders of cultural organizations in a Cultural Council (Kulturting), leaders of economic associations in an Economic Council (Naeringsting), and leaders of Nasjonal Samling on the national, provincial,

1/ N S Arbok 1942, p. 27.

and local levels in a Leader Council (Frerting) all of which were to be represented in a National Council (Riksting).

Only partial success met the efforts to translate this scheme of organization into practice, the least success being registered in the matter of the Economic Council. The matter of organizing a Leader Council was no problem. Out of the national Party rallies held in the early years, usually in September, it was easy to fashion such a body; in fact, something approaching a Leader Council appears to have met on occasion. Preliminary steps were taken early to create the organs on which might be built the Cultural Council and the Economic Council. Plans were afoot for months to launch a Cultural Council on 25 September 1942, but the universal protest of the trade unions forced a suspension of the project. The Germans agreed to permit the establishment of the Cultural Council and promised that later there might be organized an Economic Council.

After several efforts, a Cultural Council got under way. As first constituted 1/ the Council was composed of a group of seven permanent members of and representatives from each of several fields -- science and research, press and broadcasting, art and skilled crafts, and literature. It was served by an advisory body, the Kulturraadet.

The establishment of an Economic Council proceeded slowly. On the labor front steps were taken to consolidate thirty-five leading unions into thirteen, a process well along by the spring of 1942. In the new list of thirteen, four unions continued unchanged but the other nine, in their new form, represented consolidations of

1/ N S ÅrbOK 1942, pp. 189-90.

earlier unions. Thus, under the new Public Services Association there were branches for postal employees, railway workers, telephone and telegraph employees, and holders of municipal positions. The thirteen associations were: 1/

Norwegian Association of Chemical Industries
Norwegian Association for Paper Industries
Norwegian Association of Hotels and Restaurants
Norwegian Association of Forestry and Agricultural Work
Norwegian Association for Clothing Industries
Norwegian Association of Graphic Trades
Norwegian Association of Iron and Metal Industries
Norwegian Association of Food and Stimulants Trades
Norwegian Association of Wood Industries
Norwegian Association of Shipping and Transport
Norwegian Association of Building Industries
Norwegian Association of Trade and Office Work
Norwegian Association of Public Services

The organization of employers and workers within the same economic hierarchy presented a problem. For a time it was hoped that this could be achieved through the Labor Front which had been launched in 1942. Early in 1943 Odd Melsom, the press chief of the "new-ordered" LO, explained that a body of delegates from both sides (Sambandsutvalg) was at work on the task of co-ordinating the Employers' Association (Arbeidsgiverforeningen) and LO in order that the corresponding sections of both associations might one day be amalgamated. A month later Lippestad, the Minister of Social Affairs, speaking on the same topic, said the Employers' Associations had to be reorganized in a manner corresponding to the LO.

Further progress toward an Economic Council, was made not through the Labor Front, but through the grouping of employers' associations in Norwegian Economic Front (Naeringssamband). Decrees of 22 and 25 February 1943 regularized the procedure for organizing occupational groups (naeringsgrupper). As worked out the professional, industrial, and trading occupations were assembled in ten

1/ Fritt Folk, 16 May 1942.

associations. These formed the basis for the Economic Front, whose representatives in turn might participate in an Economic Council. The ten associations were as follows:

Norwegian Bank Association
Norwegian Farmers' Association
Norwegian Merchants' Association
Norwegian Handicrafts Association
Norwegian Shipping Association
Norwegian Transport Trades Association
Norwegian Association of Fishery, Whaling, and Hunting
Norwegian Association of Hotels and Restaurants
Association of Norwegian Industries
Association of Norwegian Insurance Companies

For certain purposes the projected Economic Front and its ten associations were placed under the Planning Section of the Department of Economic Affairs (headed by Alf Whist, later Minister of Economic Affairs), especially for matters involving mobilization of Norwegian resources as part of the European Grossraumwirtschaft plan was announced calling for a degree of self-administration -- a favorite idea of the corporative planners-- within the ten groups of the Economic Front and stating that all the progressive forces within the country's economic life would be combined within these groups. But there was little to suggest voluntary action in the regulation in the autumn of 1944 which sought to bring all aspects of economic life -- including the fishing and farming industries -- under the jurisdiction of Norges Naeringsamband. 1/

Neither the Labor Front nor the Economic Front supplied the basis for the contemplated Economic Council. The dream of perfecting a corporate organization of Norwegian society had to be postponed indefinitely because of the immediate practical demands of the war.

1 / Norsk Tidend, 15 November 1944, p.5.

H. GERMAN CONTROL AND EXPLOITATION OF THE NORWEGIAN ECONOMY

1. General Policies and Organs of Control

a. Policies

The primary interest of the Germans in Norway, after strategic considerations had been disposed of, was the exploitation of the Norwegian economy. Norway was fitted into the economic needs of Germany's war, in the main, through direct action of the Reichskommissariat of German industry. In the earlier part of the occupation, while the Germans indulged themselves in the delusion that victory was soon to be theirs, they made long-range plans for the exploitation of the country's resources for the benefit of both themselves and the Norwegians. In 1942-43 however, the needs of the war became compelling, and these large schemes were dropped in favor of immediate war production. This was the time when manpower controls were tightened sharply. The Germans were, on the whole, content to leave ownership to Norwegians provided that control was theirs. There were exceptions to this policy in cases where German industrial concerns had plans for penetration of Norwegian industry. The Reichskommissariat does not appear to have pushed penetration, and when the war economy was tightened many of the plans of German industry were left to wither. The financial burden which the Germans forced on Norway was extremely heavy, much heavier than that imposed on other Western European countries. It disorganized the finances of the country and produced a severe inflation. Norway has not been as productive from an economic point of view as the Germans hoped it would be. Shortages of shipping, materials, and fuel were largely responsible for this disappointment. Perhaps the basic reason, however, was the hostility of Norwegian labor, wheich took the form of slow-downs,

occasional strikes, sabotage, and refusal to co-operate with the manpower conscription.

b. Organs of Control

The German agencies of economic control in Norway were of three types: (1) Military agencies, (2) Reichskommissariat agencies, and (3) agencies independent of these two control authorities.

(1) Military Economic Agencies. The following sections of the Wehrmacht were concerned with economic affairs:

(a) The War Economy Staff Norway (Wehrwirtsschaftsstab Norwegen). This staff was concerned specifically with the German interest in the Norwegian production and complemented the Economics Branch of the Reichskommissariat. Its principal activities were those of its sections on Raw Materials and Industry (mines, smelters, and control of the armaments industry), and Transport (road traffic and the supply and distribution of petroleum products from Germany). In the spring of 1942 the Speer Armaments Ministry in Berlin took over from the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces the procurement of war materials. The War Economy Staff, Norway, became subject to Speer's orders in matters concerning the exploitation of the Norwegian industrial economy for the German war effort.

(b) The Chief Intendant of the Armed Forces (Chefintendant der Wehrmacht). The Chief Intendant was the supreme authority on economic matters of direct interest to the armed forces in Norway. He was responsible for food supplies for the German armed forces and worked with the Economics Branch of the RKN.

(c) The Transport Command (Transport Kommandantur). The Transport Command, with local transport and railway station officers, was the only German authority in either the military or the civil sector concerned with both transportation and railway construction.

(2) Reichskommissariat Economic Agencies

The Economics Branch (HA VO-Wi) of the RKN 1/ consisted of a large number of sections with several functions:

(a) The Central Section was concerned with administration, liaison with the German Chamber of Commerce, the economic press, statistics, and rationing for Germans.

(b) The Foreign Economic Section dealt with trade agreements, mining, exports and imports, and German industrial orders in Norway.

(c) The Internal Economic Section handled the Norwegian economy on a functional basis, ie., iron and steel, fuel, etc.

(d) Agriculture was concerned with farming, prices and rationing of farm products, and supplies to the armed forces.

(e) Forestry dealt with the lumber industry, reforestation, hunting, exports, and supplies for the armed forces.

(f) Fisheries handled all aspects of the fishing and canning industry.

(g) Labor and Social Security was concerned with employment, labor cards, legislation, wages, the Labor Front, and German health insurance.

(h) Price Determination and Control.

(i) Transport handled planning, motor

1/ See Appendix I for a breakdown of the administrative structure of the RKN.

vehicles and railways in conjunction with the Wehrmacht War Economic Staff, the Transport Command, and the Reich Commissioner for Shipping.

(j) Electric Power.

(k) Finance was concerned with the Norwegian budget, taxes, currency, enemy property, and customs.

(l) Representatives of the Reichsbank with the RKN and Norges Bank.

(3) Other Economic Agencies. There were several economic instrumentalities which lay outside the immediate jurisdiction of both the Wehrmacht and the RKN:

(a) The Reich Commissioner for ocean Shipping (RK See): The RK See was the supreme German merchant shipping authority, with headquarters in Berlin and branches in the occupied territories, including Norway. It maintained branch offices in Norway's principal ports. The head of the Norwegian agency was also chief of the Economics Branch of the RKN and relations between the two organizations were close.

(b) The German Chamber of Commerce in Norway (Deutsche Handelskammer in Norwegen). The Deutsche Handelskammer aims to bind the Norwegian and German economies together and to consolidate German influence on Norwegian economic life through individual business relationships. It served as an information clearing house and published a monthly paper. It came under the Reich Ministry of Economics in Berlin and in Norway worked closely with the Economics Branch of the RKN.

2. Public Finance

a. The Budget and Occupation Costs

The Germans took control of the Norwegian budget and brought chaos to the formerly healthy condition of Norwegian public finance. State finances were completely

disorganized and record deficits were created under the occupation. The Germans have not published statistics of their milching of the Norwegian economy. It is estimated, however, that the deficit for the fiscal year 1940-41 was 255 million kroner; for 1941-42, 550 million kroner; and for 1942-43, one billion kroner. The Germans made the Norwegians pay for the maintenance of the Wehrmacht in Norway, the construction of defenses, roads, and airfields, and many other items. It has been roughly estimated that the occupation costs ran to about three billion kroner annually or a total of ten billion by the end of 1944. These sums were secured chiefly through advances made in favor of the occupation authorities by Norges Bank and partly through issue of treasury bills by the Norwegian treasury. The advances were made by the Norges Bank in a separate account of the Hauptverwaltung der Reichskreditkassen Berlin Kronenkonto. Shortly before the monthly German pay days, sums of about 200 million kroner were transferred to an account called Oberkasse beim Reichsbankkommissariatx and from there transferred to the accounts of the individual military and civilian German agencies, who in turn used them to meet their obligations.

b. Taxation

To finance the cost of the occupation, the Quisling government was forced to increase taxes sharply and to engage in large-scale borrowing. Direct taxes were raised in 1940 and the turnover tax was increased from 1 to 10 percent. Corporation taxes were also raised. In the fiscal year 1943-44 two new taxes were established, an extraordinary tax on property and a tax on property and income. Persons and estates liable to taxes under the law of 1921 were subject to rates varying from 0.4 percent

on property assessed between 125,000 and 200,000 kroner to 3 percent on amounts in excess of 5 million kroner. Foreign companies were taxed at 0.5 percent of the value of their property. This tax was waived if it carried an individual's state and municipal taxes above 75 percent of his income. As a result of this increased taxation, ordinary revenues were raised in 1941-42 to 900 million kroner as compared with 444 million kroner in 1936-37. The extra burden on the taxpayer is not shown fully in these figures because normal sources of income, such as shipping income and customs duties, were curtailed and taxes increased substantially after 1941-42.

c. The National Debt.

The national debt was staggeringly increased under the occupation. Between 1922 and 1939 the debt remained relatively static at about 1.5 billion kroner. The affects of German exploitation are shown by the increase of public debt. The budget for the fiscal year 1941-42 indicated a debt increase of 600 million kroner, which, with the addition of the Wehrmacht advances by the Norges Bank, resulted in increase in the debt in that year alone of 2.6 billion kroner. It was reported that the debt in July 1943 totalled nine and a half billion kroner -- four and a half billions in the acknowledged debt and seven billions at the Norges Bank.

d. Municipal Finance

The finances of the municipalities appear to have fared well during the occupation though the effects were uneven. Those municipalities which were located in areas where the Germans spent freely were able to collect taxes readily. Municipalities which suffered war damage experienced difficulties. In 1941-42, 65 municipalities reported revenues of 289 million kroner as compared with

219 million in 1940-41.

3. Money and Banking

a. Money

The sole bank of issue in Norway is Norges Bank. When the Germans arrived they used Reichskreditkassonscheine as emergency money. They soon, however took over control of Norges Bank and the Norwegian currency,-- a measure which permitted them to withdraw their own occupation currency. In order to meet the occupation costs, Norges Bank was required to issue notes in large quantities. It has been estimated that note circulation increased almost five times between March 1940 and December 1943. As the volume of notes increased, a scarcity of coins developed out of the hoarding and the withdrawal of metal which the Germans wanted to use for war purposes. This scarcety was met by the issuance of low-denomination notes, zinc and iron coins, and even cardboard piecees. The result of the inflationary expansion of the currency circulation was a very substantial increase of prices.

b. Banking

The Germans made little or no effort to penetrate the Norwegian banking system, preferring to work through those individuals who controlled the Norwegian banks by replacing them if necessary with other Norwegians more amenable to the German point of view. The management of Norges Bank was not disturbed until the end of 1942, when several prominent NS men were placed on its supervisory council and the personnel of the Trondheim, Bodö, and Stavanger branches was similarly changed. The bankers were virtually the only professional group which refrained from signing the group protests against the various unconstitutional acts of the Germans.

The functions of Norges Bank in paying the costs of

the German occupation have already been described. (See above, H 2 a.) In July 1940 the bank was given complete control over all foreign exchange transactions. This control was removed a few months later when foreign exchange was given to a new clearing office in the Ministry of Trade, which assumed most of the Bank's exchange personnel. Virtually all of Norway's foreign trade (except with Sweden and Denmark) had to go through the clearing account in Berlin. The Germans did not seek seriously to disturb the structure and control of the commercial and savings banks and the insurance companies. Their principal function during the occupation was to invest in Government securities -- a function which the increase of wartime savings made possible on a large scale.

Quisling sought to centralize banking and integrate it into the corporative Council of the Realm. In early 1943 Norges Bankforbund (Norwegian Bank Union) was founded to amalgamate the three existing associations of private incorporated banks, savings banks, and state-guaranteed banks. Membership was compulsory for all banks except Norges Bank. It does not appear that this development had an important effect upon banking operations.

4. Industry

The principal objective of the Germans with regard to Norwegian industry was to fit it into the economic needs of Germany's war. By and large, this meant that the Germans kept their penetration of Norwegian ownership to a minimum. Such penetration as did occur would appear to have been sponsored primarily by German industrial concerns rather than by the Reichskommissariat. In the early stages of the occupation grandiose plans of development were laid that were later put aside under the

compulsion of war requirements and shortages.

a. Mining and Metal Industries

Norway's mineral resources were a prize which the Germans sought to exploit in the face of difficulties of transport, equipment, labor, and sabotage. Production of materials which Germany possessed in adequate quantities, such as iron ore, was allowed to decline, while production of others which Germany needed was expanded, such as pyrites, copper, nickel, and molybdenum, though not in the quantities desired.

Norwegian pyrites were very valuable to the Germans, providing 30 percent of the 1942 supply. Production at the Sulitjelma mines was expanded, while iron mines in the area were closed down. Forced labor was directed to several of the mines and workers were not permitted to leave the others. The exploitation of new workings was planned. A Norwegian-German company, Studieselskapet Grong A/S, was formed to exploit the deposits in the Grong district, which do not seem to have gotten into the production stage. Despite these efforts, the amount of ore mined remained well below the pre-war level, the principal reason probably th hostility of the workers. Almost the entire production was taken by Germany either directly or indirectly through processing in Sweden.

Norwegian copper production, though small, was vital to Germany because of her shortage of this metal. Norway accounted for 6-7 percent of the German supply. Production was below the pre-war level. There are no indications that the Germans sought to obtain ownership of the mines. The Germans did not encourage zinc production because they had adequate supplies from other sources.

The Norwegian nickel refineries were dependent

for their principal ore supplies on imports from Canada, which were cut off by the blockade. The Nazis did, however, fall heir to the large stocks accumulated prior to the invasion. Because of their own nickel shortage, the Germans went to considerable lengths to encourage Norwegian ore production. They sought, therefore, to interfere as little as possible with the management of the mines. Production at the old mines was maintained at pre-war levels, and new borings were made. All nickel produced was sent to Germany except the small quantity consumed in Norway.

The Germans while permitting the total volume of iron ore production to decline maintained the output of high-quality iron ore. They seem to have done little to disturb the Norwegian management, though financial penetration was considerable. Most of Sydvaranger's capital was purchased by Germans and the Hermann Goring Werke was reported to be in control of Fosdalen. Since most of these mines are in the far north, they experienced transport difficulties as well as the general labor shortage. Several were, therefore, shut down. Production was below the pre-war level. The Germans appear to have made efforts to rationalize and expand the Norwegian iron and steel industry without any notable success because of the shortage and hostility of labor, the shortage of scrap, and the electric power crisis of 1941.

Norway has been the principle source of German molybdenum. Efforts were made to double the output of Knaben. In late 1941, Krupps undertook to supply special machinery to enlarge capacity, and build a new power line, forced labor was brought in. The Wehrmacht was called upon to assist in the erection of the new power line, the first time the Army was used for an industrial

purpose in Norway. The scheme proved to be a failure. Instead of doubling production, production seems to have fallen below pre-war levels. The Germans obtained 75 percent of Knaben's output, the remainder going to Axel Johnson in Sweden, the owner of the mine, who processed part of it for German account.

Norway was the only source of titanium for Germany. The mines at Jssingfjord owned by the National Lead Company were taken over completely by the Titan Gesellschaft of Leverkusen.

The Germans did not encourage the production of ferro-alloys in Norway because of the ample capacity at their disposal elsewhere and the fact that it would require the shipment of materials to Norway. As the capacity became idle, the Germans in several instances converted the furnaces to other types of production.

The Germans had a great interest in the exploitation and development of Norwegian aluminum capacity. An organization, Norsk Aluminium Kontor, was set up in Oslo immediately after the invasion to control the entire industry and to seize the interests of British, French, and Canadian stockholders. Plans of both a short - and long-term nature were made for a tremendous expansion of aluminum production based on Norway's vast potential waterpower. It was the intention of the Germans to establish an aluminum industry in the country which would be owned and controlled by themselves and which would serve the German aircraft industry. The program was planned by Dr. Koppenberg of Junkers Flugzeug und Motorwerke, and its execution, except for the Herya project, was in the hands of a German company, Nordische Aluminium A.G., later transferred to a subsidiary, A/S Nordag, founded under Norwegian law. The assistance of I.G. Farben and Vereinigte

Aluminiumwerke was later sought. The difficulties proved insuperable and the demands of the war intervened. By the end of 1942 all the Nordag projects except for one alumina plant were abandoned. The Herøya project was planned by I. G. Farben in collaboration with Norsk-Hydro, and was executed through the A/S Nordisk Lettmetall. It proved to be a success.

The longterm German plans proved a failure because of the difficulties of the later stages of the war. The sites chosen were selected because of the availability of water power and proved in almost every case to be disadvantageous from the viewpoint of transportation. Supplies were often not available; labor and technical staff were not obtainable in sufficient quantities. The change in the military situation in 1941-42 caused the Germans to abandon long-range projects of this type for more urgent war tasks.

b. The Chemical Industry.

Despite the fact that the Norwegian chemical industry was not of direct value to the German war effort, the Germans gave it consideration. Labor was not permitted to leave; plans for power stations were made; and steps were taken to secure German control. The French shares of Norsk-Hydro were obtained from the Vichy government, and the concern was completely taken over by I.G. Farben. Norwegian personnel was retained on the whole, though German specialists were used on new projects.

Nitrate production was maintained at a fairly high level, the bulk being exported to Germany. The serious shortage of oils for paints and varnishes in Germany led to the establishment of a small plant in Bergen utilizing fish oil. Efforts were made to double the production of the Norwegian explosives industry for the needs of the German armed forces in Norway; and a substantial increase

did take place. The cement industry was maintained at about the pre-war level but was unable to supply the great demands for German fortifications, the deficit being made up by imports.

c. Shipbuilding

The Germans were interested in utilizing the Norwegian shipbuilding industry for their purposes. Norwegian management of the industry was not seriously disturbed though close control was exercised through the allocation of materials. The main building activity was in vessels of the whaler class which the Germans used as armed patrol boats. Naval building virtually ceased during the occupation; two destroyers begun before the invasion remained incomplete. Repair yards were very active in fulfilling German orders under strict German control. Norway was of greater importance to the Germans for repair than for new construction.

d. Armaments Works

The very small Norwegian armaments industry was expanded for the purpose of serving the German forces in the country. Aircraft plants at Kjeller and Horten were substantially enlarged, the former under German direction. No real interest was shown in expanding land armaments production until 1942, when the needs of the war brought a change in German policy. Anti-aircraft guns, machine-guns, bayonets, and perhaps rifles were produced in fair quantities. Substantial quantities of ammunition have been turned out.

e. Timber Production and Wood processing Industries

The occupation brought a great increase in the demand for timber as a building material, as a fuel, and as industrial raw material. Supplies to the pulp and paper industry were curtailed. Efforts were made to expand

the cut which were partially succesful. Forests were placed under the control of a bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture of the Quisling government. The industry was not, however, able to meet domestic demand, and imports were necessary. Substantial numbers of skis and hutments were exported to the Eastern Front. The pulp and paper industries were severely curtailed in order to provide labor for more urgent purposes. The Germans took over complete control of the pulp and paper industries, perhaps working through quisling dummies. German managers were appointed in a large number of cellulose and paper mills.

f. Electric Power Production.

By the fall of 1940 the Germans had plans for a great expansion in electricity output based on the vast potential hydroelectric capacity of Norway. It was intended to use this power primarily in the electro-metallurgical industries. Railways were to be electrified and plans were made for the export of power to Denmark and Germany. A number of large new power stations were planned whose principal consumers were to be the projected light metal plants. Extensions to existing power stations were planned and to a substantial extent were executed. The new projects ran into difficulties with regard to electrical equipment, labor, and raw materials. In the autumn of 1942, despite the considerable progress which had been made on several of the projects, work was discontinued entirely on some of the most important. Presumably, this was done in order to concentrate on more important war tasks. Those abandoned were connected with the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries.

4. Food, Agriculture, and Fishing

a. Food and Agriculture

Norway before the invasion was dependent upon imports for approximately half its food supply. The occupation

resulted in the cutting off of many of the normal sources of food and feed. Norwegian Agriculture offered little to the Germans. They were, on the contary, required to supply Norway with a minimum amount of food and feed necessary to sustain the civilian economy. The available food supply was severely rationed. Nutrition declined steadily during the occupation with an attendant rise in disease. In the eyes of Swedish observers the situation reached the crisis stage in the winter of 1944-45.

b. Fishing

The fish catch was drastically reduced as a result of the transfer of manpower out of the industry, the enforced elimination of many areas formerly open to fishing, the German requis itioning of fishing boats, and the shortages of boats, fuel, and tackle. The Germans during the war took virtually all fish exports as compared with only 30 percent before the war. They have pushed the development of the frozen fish industry, in which they had taken an interest prior to 1940. The whaling industry ceased to exist.

6. Transportation

a. Shipping

At the time of the invasion the bulk of the Norwegian merchant marine, the fourth largest in the world, made for Allied ports. The Germans did, however, obtain control of 1,024 vessels of 100 g.r.t. and over with a total tonnage of 875,240 g.r.t. Of these vessels, 36 were tankers, 172,149 g.r.t.

Four authorities were established for the control of Norwegian ships. First the Wehrmacht requisitioned ships for use in the movement of troops and war materials, and occasionally for service as depot ships and hospital ships. Second the Kriegsmarinedienstelle operates the

the ships which carried supplies of all kinds to the military establishments in Norway. Third the Norwegian Shipping Directorate was established by the Germans in order that they might deal with a central authority rather than individual owners in compelling owners to put their ships to sea. The principal functions of the agency were to maintain Norway's seaborne requirements and to fix freight rates. Finally, the Speer organization maintained its own fleet in Norwegian waters to meet the transport needs of the fortification program. In 1943 it controlled 203 vessels, many of them tugs, lighters, and other harbor craft. These vessels were largely non-Norwegian in origin.

Most of the ships which fell into German hands were used either in traffic to German and German-controlled North Sea or Baltic ports or in Norwegian coastal traffic. The Germans sought to increase the volume of traffic shipped by rail but the dependence of the Norwegian economy on coastal traffic made necessary the maintenance of minimum coastal shipping for civilian needs. The increasing effectiveness of Allied measures against German-controlled shipping in northern waters forced the Germans to rely on small vessels for cargo. The Germans found great difficulty in recruiting Norwegian seamen, and those whom they did recruit often deserted. By and large, their vessels were under-manned. All bunker supplies were obtained in Germany. The shortage of labor at the ports, sabotage, air raids made for difficulties in the turn-round of ships.

b. Railways.

The Germans did not disturb the management of the Norwegian State Railways. A Military Traffic Control Office was established at Oslo to direct their activities. The destruction resulting from the military operations of the

invasion were quickly repaired, including that on the Narvik line.

Traffic increased very substantially during the occupation because of the movement of troops and supplies, the economic exploitation of the country, and the transfer to rail of much traffic which formerly moved by sea. This required new locomotives and cars, which were constructed in Germany and Norway. The railways experienced difficulties due to the shortage of fuel, lubricants, and rolling stock, and the hostility of labor. Civilian traffic was drastically curtailed.

The Germans, for strategic considerations, pushed the existing program for the extension of the Norwegian railway system much more rapidly than the Norwegians themselves would have done with their limited financial resources and in line with orthodox credit policies. There was work on the extension of the Oslo-Kristiansand line to Flekkefjord to link up with the narrow-gauge line to Stavanger which was converted to standard gauge; the Nordland Railway was extended north to Mo i Rana, and it was planned to reach Narvik though this has not been accomplished; the Koppang-Støren line was converted from narrow to standard gauge. It was planned to construct a railroad between the Narvik line and Kirkenes, but this was not done. The Germans executed several Norwegian plans for the electrification of the railways in order to conserve coal and to increase capacity. The Oslo-Kornsjö line was electrified throughout, and the Oslo-Kristiansand line electrified from Nordagatu to beyond Lunde during the occupation.

c. Roads

The Germans did relatively little road construction in Southern Norway, which was well supplied prior to the

invasion. In the north, however, extensive projects were undertaken to link the Norwegian highway system with that of Finland for strategic considerations. For the first time, Northern Norway is now linked with the rest of the country. Many of the old roads in the north were widened and improved to accomodate military traffic. The shortage of gasoline and rubber resulted in the virtual elimination of civilian travel by automobile.

7. Foreign Trade.

The Germans maintained tight control over Norway's foreign trade. Trade was conducted with Germany, with her satellites and with Sweden. Clearing transactions with German controlled territories were handled by the Deutsche Verrechnungskasse in Berlin. Because of Norway's extreme dependence upon imports, it was necessary for the Germans to ship goods into the country in order to sustain life and, in a few cases, in order to provide materials for an industry the Germans had an interest in exploiting. Norway's exports were much lower than imports, and Norway was thus one of the few countries not to accumulate a cleaning claim against Germany.

8. Price Control and Rationing

a. Price Control

A tradition of price control was well established before the Germans invaded Norway. A Price Directorate was set up on 12 September 1940 to administer the price Control System, in which it was assisted by an advisory Price Council. The Norwegian price trend was strongly upward as producing centers in various lines closed down, difficulties of importing from Germany grew, and the German civilian and military population increased their purchases. By a regulation of the Price Directorate on 15 December 1940 prices were frozen at the levels of 8

April 1940. 1/ Despite the controls, prices steadily rose; the wholesale price index from August 1939 to February 1943 rising from 98.4 to 174.3. It was estimated that real wages declined 50 percent.

b. Rationing

Rationing of necessities was as rigid in Norway as in belligerent countries. The administrative machinery to enforce rationing was set up before the quisling Ministers were appointed to office. As shortages developed in various lines the usual black market operations began to flourish. An important decree of 28 January 1942, concurred in by the Ministers of the Interior, Police, Commerce Agriculture, and Supply Departments, 2/ fixed maximum penalties of one million kroner fines five and six years' imprisonment for crimes that were "unsocial and harmful to the people." A minimum penalty of six months' imprisonment was set by a supplemental decree of 14 January 1943. 3/

A special Norwegian price police was instituted and a circuit court special (lagmannsrett) established to handle appeals cases from local courts. 4/ On occasion the SS-und Polizeigericht Norg acted against black market operators as in 1943, when severe sentences were imposed on several Norwegians at Bergen.

9. Labor Controls

Under the occupation unemployment gradually vanished and manpower was transferred from non-essential to essential tasks. Not only did the Wehrmacht demand more and more labor for its purposes but Germans and quislings alike soon needed workers to expand hydro-electric projects, to fell and process timber, and to work on the farms and

1./ Pristidende, 1940, p. 263.
2./ Norsk Lovtidend, 1942, p. 45.
3./ Ibid., 1943, p.43.
4./ Ibid., 1940, p. 705.

in the fishing fleets. The Organization Todt appeared always to be in need of labor. The labor exchanges, well-organized in pre-war Norway, were "new-ordered" in conformity with the leadership principle and became one of the important instruments for applying compulsion to labor. Beginning with a decree of 8 October 1940 1/ all able-bodied unemployed were called upon to register with the public employment exchange. Other rulings specified that employers were to engage new men only through the public exchanges, or at least with their consent, and forbade alteration of existing collective agreements or individual contracts of employment save with the approval of the Department of Social Affairs. Severe penalties were decreed on September 1941 for disturbing the industrial peace.2/ Detailed regulations on wage and employment conditions were given in a decree of 18 January 1943.3/ The authorities undertook to establish close control over the movement of Norwegian labor.4/ In the spring of 1941 employment was frozen in nineteen branches of production, the number being later increased to twenty-three. 5/ Workers were forced in 1942 to surrender their regular ration cards for weekly cards. The former were to be retained by the employer should the worker leave without approval. The Germans brought in numbers of war prisoners to help out, notably Russians and some Yugoslavs, and "free" labor from Belgium, Holland, France, Denmark, and elsewhere. Estimates of foreign workers on the Nordland railway project in 1944, put the figure at 17,000; in 1942 Danes at work on the Trondheim submarine base were said to number 8,000. Prisoners of war, chiefly Russians, were estimated in 1944 at nearly 60,000.

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1940, pp.571-73, 613-14.
2/ Vbl. Nov., 18 September 1944, p.19. Norsk Lovtidend, 1942, pp.621-22.
3/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1943, p. 49.
4/ Vbl. Nov., 7 December 1942, p. 33.
5/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1941, pp. 298-300, 553-4; 1942, p.757

a. The Labor Service (Arbeidstjenesten -- At)

In imitation of the German Arbeitsdienst, the quisling authorities promoted the Arbeidstjenesten. The quislings continued the labor service which had been started under the Administrative Council in 1940 and added to it a strong ideological emphasis. The service was regularized in a decree of 17 April 1941 1/ by the Minister for Labor Service and Sport. It applied to men in the 18-25 year range, the obligation supposedly to be undertaken in the twenty-first year. The service obligation was increased from 90 to 180 days. Under quisling auspicies a strong military slant marked the service at every level.

Its head was a general, C. Frølich Hansen, who was responsible to the Department of Labor Service and Sport, assisted by a central organization of six departments and a chief of Staff. The entire country was subdivided into six districts, and the Labor Service groups in each of these in turn were successively divided into fylkinger, sveit, tropper, and lag. The lag a local unit, was basic and was composed of sixteen men. Some twenty thousand young men were reported in the service in 1942 and the number in 1943 may have been higher. This service was perhaps the one with which the quislings had most success. In 1944 problems of the national labor contribution proved a disturbing factor, and, after the home front leadership emphatically called for a boycott of the service, it suffered heavily.

b. The National Labor Contribution (Sen Nationate Arbeids Innsats)

The principle of labor conscription was introduced in 1941. It was designed both to control man power and to undermine the underground organizations. A decree of 9

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1941, pp.343-6, 349-54, 482-90; there was also a Women's At, the Kvinnelig Arbeidstjeneste, whose staff leader in 1942 was Hme. Bergquist Andresen.

July 1/ announced that labor would be conscripted for "socially essential" projects; for those working in other than their usual occupations, the service was to be for six months, Actual conscription at this time was moderate, but conscription was applied broadly after the Stalingrad disaster when the need for manpower became acute. In February 1943 the controlled press published three decrees, 2/ signed by Quisling himself, proclaiming a general labor mobilization. Men from eighteen to fifty-five and women from twenty-one to fourty, when separately notified, were to report to their local labor exchange and be prepared to take their turn in the National Labor Contribution. Some occupations -- agriculture, gardening, forestry, fishing, and sailing -- were exempt, as were individuals who had been called into labor service or were employed in "public service fulltime." Unofficially the levy was not applied to Nasjonal Samling officials or to members of the Hird. Over three hundred thousand men and women (not including the three northern provinces) were registered in the service. Those actually assembled were as apt to be assigned to German projects as to work on Norwegian farms or in the forests. Opposition to the service was intense and the contingents actually assembled for work were not large. The first contingent in May 1943 numbered ten thousand workers. A determined effort to enforce the National Labor Contribution was made in 1944. On 19 May 1944 the quisling papers all carried notices advising members of the age classes for 1921-23 to register. The opposition to this new thrust became a major concern of the resistance movement, especially after the Allied landings in Normandy. The National Labor Contribution was largely sabotaged by united opposition of the Home front.

1/ Norsk Lovtidend, 1941, pp.544-47.
2/ Cf. Deutsche Zeitung fur Norwegen, 24 February 1943.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE PREPARATIONS FOR ALLIED INVASION

After 1942, as the Wehrmacht suffered defeat on all its major battle fronts, quisling and Nazi officials had to consider how best to mobilize all the defensive powers of the country to meet threatened Allied invasion. Beginning with the summer of 1943, various steps towards this end were taken.

1. The Rounding up of Army Officers

The first major move was a comprehensive roundup of the Norwegian Army officers who had been demobilized after the end of the Norwegian war in 1940. General Falkenhorst, in a communique of 16 August 1943, ordered the arrest and deportation to concentration camps in Germany of all Norwegian officers. Exceptions were made in favor of those who were members of Nasjonal Samling, who had worked to promote the New Order in Norway, or who were reserve officers with little or no training in command. The communique reminded Norwegians that these officers had misused the Führer's "magnanimity" by collaborating with the enemy in "violation" of the "pardon" Hitler had granted them on 10 May 1940. In some circles the "pardon" reference was taken to mean that Falkenhorst had yielded to Gestapo influence, since Wehrmacht officers were reported to be opposed to the idea of treating former prisoners of war, who merely had done their duty, as criminals subject to "pardon." For some time the authorities had kept close watch on the Norwegian officers; after April 1943 they were required to report every fortnight to have their identification papers stamped. After 1940 a number of officers escaped to Sweden or to Britain but many more, perhaps 1,100 or more, were affected by Falkenhorst's order in August. They were assembled at Hvalsmoen, a camp in Ringerike. Release was offered on 3 September to those who would sign a declaration to undertake no action

against the Wehrmacht, German civil service personnel, German civilians, or German authorities in any military, political, or social manner, apparently none signed the declaration. Behind this proposal some suspected the hand of the German SS. In most case the officers were sent to camps in Posen.

2. The Invocation of Military Law

Almost simultaneously with the action of Falkenhorst, Quisling issued a comprehensive decree dated 14 August 1943, on"Measures to Maintain Peace and Order." 1/ It declared that a state of war existed because of attacks on Norwegian citizens and on Norwegian territory by the Soviet Union and its allies, and that these states must be considered enemies of Norway and of Greater Germany and its allies. Hence, "Norway must take her place on the anti-Bolshevik front." Quisling needed to establish a state of war with Germany's enemies as a promise for his law.

Having established a "state of war," Quisling sought o to bring into operation certain parts of the Norwegian Military Criminal Code of 1902. He fell back upon paragraph 80 of that law which provided penalties for treason or for aiding the enemy, and he cited a passage in a decree of 5 February 1942 which declared that the Minister-president possessed the authority which by the constitution belonged to the King and the Storting. A Norwegian law of 29 March 1900 concerning procedures in criminal military cases was repeated as being out of harmony with the "juristic instincts" of the New Order.

Quisling's law sought to accomplish two things especially. First, it sought to give the Norwegian police a military status and, for the duration of hostilities, to establish Germanske SS Norge, Frergarden, Rikshirden, Hird--marinen, and Hirdens Flykorps as police auxiliaries and as

1/Norsk Lovtidend, 1943, pp. 536-38.

part of the national armed forces. Second, it provided for special courts to deal with offenses and misdemeanors under the military law of 1902. The procedures in these were severe. Each court had jurisdiction over one or more provinces and was composed of one judge and two associate judges, all chosen by the Department of Police. The defense counsel was to be selected by the prosecution; the accused would be notified of the choice but no preliminary investigation was allowed. At the beginning of the proceeding the accused might have a brief conference with his counsel. The right to speak in his own behalf would be given to the judgement but not to the proceedings. There could be no retrial, but if punishment entailed prison sentence the head of the Police Department would review the case and either confirm it or refer it to a usual court. If the sentence was death, only Quisling might review it to see if pardon were "possible," though who would do the pardoning was not made clear. The death penalty would be carried out by shooting.

That one purpose of the Quisling law was to bring the unreliable loyal police into line is clear from the events of 16 August 1943. Early that morning, in the presence of various police officials, the head of the Order Division of the civil police in Oslo, Gustaf Eilifsen, was executed 1/ for having refused some days earlier to permit his men to assist in arresting women and girls for failing to appear for labor service. Early the same morning the entire police staff in Oslo was assembled in a meeting, at which Jonas Lie, the Minister of Police, and Wilhelm Rediess, head of the German police, sought to force a written declaration

1/ By order of one of the courts just instituted. The bench which passed sentence was composed of K. A. Marthinsen, head of the Hird and of Norway's Security Police, E. Y. Olbjern, head of Norway's Order Police, and E. Reichborn-Kjennerud, who headed the board which liquidated confiscated Jewish property.

of loyalty from the assembled personnel. The speakers said the shooting of Eilifsen had been intended as warning, and they threatened to bring all those present before military courts the same day. Under duress the police signed the declaration.

In October 1943 Quisling issued another decree 1/ to make the military law "more effective." This new decree vastly extended the Minister-President's control over the lives and ways of Norwegians. The death penalty might be imposed for acts interpreted as being in opposition to Quisling's "governing power"; the same penalty might be applied to officials and public servants who neglected to obey Quisling's orders, or to persons who encouraged strikes or work stoppages, who committed acts designed to disturb public order, or who seriously disturbed the country's supply system (including the rationing system). Concientious objections to military service were no longer recognized and penalties for desertion were strengthened. In violation of the traditional military law, Quisling was empowered to declare a state of emergency in certain part or all of the country, even in the absence of mobilization orders or if Norway were not at war. The law was aimed at "enemies of the state and the people" and clearly was designed to centralize and consolidate Quisling's control in the face of growing defections from the NS and the prospect that the Wehrmacht might leave Norway.

3. The War Criminals Commission

In a letter of 19 October 2/ to Riisnase, Minister of Justice, Quisling appointed what was in fact a war criminals commission. Its formal task was to fix in a formal and legal way the justification for Quisling's assumption of power in 1940. This Commission, headed by Professor Herman Harris Aall, was composed of eight quislings, supposedly men of affairs,

1/ Ukens Nytt fra Norge, 1943, p. 404.

several of whom were jurist. The commission was assigned one secretary for each of several special subjects: political and legal questions, the Jewish question and Free Masonry, and general political questions; two secretaries were assigned to military affairs. The commission was instructed to assemble material in order to clarify these following points;

a. Was it the will of the Norwegian people that Norway's position in World War II should be that of a state qneutral in law as well as in fact? If so,

b. Did the Cabinet which governed Norway until the occupation in 1940 let the Norwegian people assume that Norway was obeying the rules governing a neutral's rights and duties?

c. Did that Cabinet really follow such rules?

The commission was empowered to call on the police to help in the hearing of witnesses. Its expenses were borne by the state, and administratively the body was placed under the "Ministry" of Justice. So far as is known the commission did not make a report.

4. Additional Emergency Measures

A long list of measures taken after midsummer 1943 were designed to meet internal as well as external dangers in the face of impending Allied invasion.

a. Raids

Dozens of raids and hundreds of arrests were made, designed to cripple the underground or to eliminate potential leaders of active resistance. The largest, but by no means the last, of these undertakings, was the round-up by the German police (ordered by the quislings) of students at the University on 30 November 1943, and the deportation of perhaps twelve hundred or more students to Germany, many of th em to camps in the Alsace area. The effort to register the 1921-23 age classes for the National Labor Contribution was designed in part to cripple the underground.

b. The Organization of Protective Services

Protective services were organized in profusion.

2/ Ukens Nytt fra Norge, 1943, p. 404.

A watch-battalion of SS and Hird personnel (with training center at Holmestrand), employed for guarding prisons and camps, was used also for factory guard purposes. Hird Alarm Units (Alarmeinheitem des Hird) were organized and forced to promise to serve faithfully under orders of the German police; they were to be equipped in military fashion and to be subjected to the same discipline as the police and the SS. To guard enterprises of vital importance there was organized an Industrial Protection Service (Bedriftsvern). 1/ Under leadership of the Hird two companies, one motorized and one of infantry, were trained at Holmestrand. Service in a Citizen Guard Service was imposed upon several thousand citizens in the Oslo area early in 1944. Units were assigned to guard railway lines and harbor installations. The service proved to be a dangerous one. By midwinter 1944, a dozen persons on duty had been killed and twice that number injured.

c. The Centralization Authority within N S

Preparations for final defense operations revolved partly around moves to centralize power in the hands of the party extremists, Germans as well as Norwegians. Both elements sought to tighten organizational strings and to draw all possible quisling and Nazi sympathizers into line. The chief of the Norwegian Security Police, Marhinsen, was made head also of the Hird and began using the title, SS Chief (SS Hvedman). In turn the Hird was placed under the general supervision of Rediess, the head of the German police, as was the Germanske SS Norge. Rediess was reported to have been appointed special representative of Himmler on the German General Staff in Norway. A similar concentration of authority in civil affairs bought Alf Whist, Minister of Economic Affairs, to the fore at the expense of some of the moderates among Quisling's advisers.

d. Provision for Military Authority

In the event of invasion, the situation for both moderates and extremists would in principle be determined by the stipulation of Hitler's Proclamation of 24 April 1940 that the Military Commander could, insofar as the military situation required, take the steps necessary to render Norway secure. (See above, B 1,a.) This implied the supremacy of the Wehrmacht commander over the civil authority in a military emergency. Detailed plans, in fact, were worked out on the problem of how German civilians as well as officials were to find their places under the Wehrmacht commander.

In January 1945 von Falkenhorst was replaced as Commander of the German Armed Forces in Norway by Generaloberst Lothar Rendulic. Shortly afterwards, however, Rendulic was transferred to the Eastern Front and his place was taken by General Franz Böhme.

1/ Norsk Lovtident, 1944, No 8.

Appendix I

THE ORGANIZATION OF FOUR DEPARTMENTS OF THE OFFICE OF THE RIECH COMMISSIONER

Organization	Chief
I. Administration Branch	Regierungspräsident Dr. Koch
A. Central Section	Regierungsrat Dr. Hagemann
1. General Organisation	
2. Financial Management of the RKN	
3. Personnel Office	
4. Pay Office	
5. Cashiers Office	
6. Mail Distributing Office	
7. Records	
8. Library	
9. Administration of the Office Buildings and the Deutsches Haus	
B. Foreign Affairs Section (State Law)	Oberregierungsrat Dr. Schiedermaier
1. Liaison with the Reich Chancery (Dr. Lammers) and the Central Office for Norway (Dr. Stuckart)	Regierungsrat Dr. Jess
2. International Law	
3. Norwegian (quisling) Government	
4. Foreign Consulates in Norway	
5. German Consular Business in Norway	Consular Secretary Dr. Scholz
C. Domestic Affairs Section (Administrative Law)	Oberregierungsrat Dr. Volpel
1. Administration of Norwegian Departments and Provinces	
2. Norwegian Communal Administration (Norwegische Kommunal-Verwaltung)	Magistratsrat Dr. Nugel
3. Requistioning	Rechtsanwalt Dr. Schneider

APPENDIX I. (Cont.)

Organization	Chief
D. Legal Section	Business dealt with by other sections:
1. German Law and Judicial System	(by section B)
2. Norwegian Law and Judicial System	(by section C)
3. German Registry Office	
E. Medical Section	Medizinalrat Dr. Paris
1. Medicine	
2. Dentistry	
3. Veterinary science	
II. Economics B ranch	Senator Otte
A. Central Section	de Vries
1. General Organisation	
2. Liaison with the German Chamber of Commerce in Norway	Dr. Oncken
3. Economic Press	Arppe and Dr. Wolffgramm
4. General Statistics	
5. Personnel Records	
6. Administration of Messes and German Shops	Freese
7. Rationing for Germans	Insp. Gutmann, Insp. Czigalsky, Ob. Insp. Gotze
B. Foreign Economic Section	Regierungsrat Ahlbrecht
1. Trade Agreements	
2. Norwegian Mining	Dipl. Ing. Maucher Dr. Ing. Plotzki
3. Norwegian Export Industry	Reg. Rat Mosch
4. German Industrial Orders in Norway	Reg. Rat Mosch
5. Norwegian Imports from Germany	Reg. Rat Mosch

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

Organization	Chief
C. Internal Economic Section	Landgerichtsdirektor Wolf
1. General Planning	
2. Iron and Steel	Mügge
3. Non-ferrous Metals	Assessor Unte
4. Building Materials (excluding metal and wood)	Baurat Rossig
5. Fuels (coal, wood, peat)	Freiherr von Skal, von cleve
6. Liquid and Solid Fuels for Locomotion	Ass. Engelmann
7. Chemicals	Böttcher
8. Textiles	Dr. Kautz
9. Leather	Wolff, Witthaus
10. Rubber	Boster
11. Paper and Cardboard	Packmohr
D. Agriculture Section	Dr. Blankenagel
1. Der Bauer (the Farmer) (s (social and professional)	Landwirtschaftsrat Svensson
2. General Planning	Landwirschaftsrat Svensson
3. Cultivation	Landwirtschaftsrat Svensson
4. Dairy Farming	Landwirtschaftsrat Svensson
5. Rationing	Insp. Gutmann
6. Prices	
7. Supplies for the German Armed Forces	
8. Individual Questions	Degener, Henseler, Holzhauer
E. Forestry Section	Oberlandforstmeister Stalmann
1. Der Waldbesitzer (The Forest Owner) and Der Holzfäller (The Lumberman) (social and professional)	

Organization	Chief
2. General Planning	
3. Reforestation and Cutting	Oberforstmeister Appuhn
4. Treatment of Timber	Oberforstemister Eisenbach
5. Export of Timber to Germany	Arnold
6. Supplies for the Armed Forces	Schröder, Werner,
7. Hunting	Forstemister Buttner
F. Fisheries Section	Regierungsrat Dr. von Brunneck
1. Der Fischer (The Fisherman)(social and professional)	Fischerierat Dr. Hass
2. Fishing	Fischerierat Dr.Hass
3. Treatment (excluding canning industry)	Lohmann
4. Distribution (excluding canning industry)	Regierungsrat Genest
5. Canning Industry and Export	Hodt
6. Prices	Reg Rat Genest
7. Statistics	Windt
T. Labour and Social Security Section	NSDAP-Gauamtsleiter Johlitz
1. Der Arbeiter (The Worker (social and professional)	
2. Employment of Labour and Labour Cards	Reg. Rat George
3. Labour Laws, Tariff Policy, and Wages	Reg. Rat Dr. Bech
4. Trade Unions and NS Labour Front	DAF-Obmann Walsch
5. German Health Insurance i In Norway	Insp. Richter
H. Price Section	Ob. Reg. Rat Thiele
1. General Price Policy	
2. Price Determination	

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

Organization	Chief
3. Individusl items of price control, in particular price control in the building trade	Dipl. Kfm. Bruer
4. Excess prices and black market	Staatsanwalt Wehl
I. Transport Section	Reg. Rat Gustke
1. General transport planning	
2. Motor vehicles	(Ob. Reg. Rat
3. Railways	(Dr. Leschke and (Dipl. Ing. Behn
The transport policy is not dealt with entirely by the RKN. Shipping is controlled only by the"RKSee". A leading part is played in road transport questions by the Defence Economics Staff (Wehrwirtschaftsstab) and in railway questions by the Transport Command (Transport kommandantur)	
J. Electric Power Section	Direktor Heuser Kipl. Ing. Cyrus
K. Finance Section	Reg. Rat Korff
1. Costs of Occumtion	
2. Norwegian Budger	
3. Norwegian Taxation	
4. Duble Taxation of Germans	
5. German and Norwegian Customs duties	Ob. Insp. Jepsen
6. German and Norwegian Currency	Assessor Moos
7. Enemy Property	Assessor Moos
L. Representatives of the Reichsbank with RKM a and Norges Bank	Reichsbank-Direktor Sattler, Reichsbank-Direktor Gross
III. Propaganda Branch	Ministerialrat Dr. G.W. Muller
A. General Propagands Questions	Ministerialrat Dr. G. W. Muller

APPENDIX I (Cont.)

Organizations	Chief
B . Foreign Propaganda	Friedrich Grobe
C. Press	Moser
D. Broadcasting	" Muller- Franken
E. Literature	Dr. Fincke, Dr.Meyen
F. Schools	Ministerialrat Dr. Hunhnhauser
G Art	" President Muller-Scheldt
H. Welfare of German Forces	SS Hauptmann Raupenbacher
IV. Office of the SS and Police Leader, North (Hohern SS- und Polizeifuhrer Nord)	General of Police Rediess
A. Staff and Adjutant's offices of the Senior SS and Police Leader, North	
B. Security Police (Gestapo)	SS-Generalmajor.....
1. Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD)	SS-Oberst Fehlis
2. Criminal Section	
3. Executive Section	
C. General Police	Polizei Generalmajor Horning
D ARP Police	
E. Works Police	
F. SS and Police Court, North (SS und Polizei-Gerich Nord)	
G. Passport Questions	
H. Lebensborn Section (dealing with the care of the illegitimate children of soldiers)	Landwirt und SS Major Dr. Richert
I. Recruiting offices for war Service on the Russian Front and for agricultural Work in Eastern Germany	
J. Section for General Questions concerned with Organisation, Administration, Personnel, and Economics	

Appendix II

THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONERS AND THEIR JURISDICTIONS

Seat	Region	Commissioners
Lillehammer	Hedmark, Opland	_____
Kristiansand	Aust Agder	SS-Major Dr. Mayer
Stavanger	Rogaland	SS Major Nising
Bergen	Bergen (City), Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane	NSDAP district Leader Christen
Narvik	Nordland	SS Col. Noratzke
Tromsø	Tromsø	SS Lt. Dr. Hagmeister
Kirkenes	Finnmark	SS Lt. Grosch

Appendix III

THE COMMISSARIAL STATE COUNCILLORS, OR MINISTERS (KOMMISSARISCHE STAATSRÄTE)

Department	Councillor	Councillor 1/ Minister 1944
Church and Education	R.S. Skancke	R.S. Skancke
Interior	W. Hagelin	B. Vasobotten
Police	J. Lie	J. Lie
Justice	S. Riisnaes	S. Riisnaes
Agriculture	T.J.O. Fretheim	T.J.O. Fretheim
Labor Service and Sports	A. Stang	A. Stang
Social Affairs	B. Meidell	J.A. Lippestad
Finance	E. Sandberg-	A. Prytz
Culture and Popular Enlightenment	G. Lunde	R.J. Fuglesang
Labor	T. Hustad	H. Skarphagen (acting)
Economic Affairs 2/	_____	A. Whist 3/
Supply Trade, Industry; Crafts and Fisheries	O. Ravner S.H. Johannessen	
Shipping	K.S. Irgens	_____

1/ On 26 September 1941 Terboven elevated the councillors to the rank of "minister."
2/ Merger of Supply, Trade and Industry, and Shipping Departments in 1944.
3/ Succeeded F. S. Blehr, June 1944.

Appendix IV

THE PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS (FYLKESORGANISASJONER) AND PROVINCIAL LEADERS (FYLKESFØRERE)

Province	Leader
Aust-Viken	Sverre Steen
Stor-Oslo	Viljam Hagelin
Vest-Viken	Thore Tjersland
Hedmark	Axel Aass
Opland	Finn Thrana
Telemark	Olva Dalen
Agder og Rogaland	Oscar Haereid
Vestlandet	Chr. Astrup
Romadal og Nordmøre	Anders Brokstad
Sør Trøndelag	Henrik Rogstad
Nord Trondlag	Yngvar Martens
Nordland	Harald Wasenden
Troms	Tore R. Kristiansen 1/
Finnmark	Thor Bekeng

1/ Repleed Oluv M. Hoff in the autoum 1944

Appendix V

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS (FYIKESMENN)

Province	Governor
Østfold	Hans Solgard Jacobsen
Oslo og Akershus	Eyvind Blehr
Opland	Arve Nilsen Frøisland
Hedmark	Ole Vries Hassel
Buskerud	Jens Flaentinsen Hundseid
Vestfold	Halvor Pedersen Hektoen
Telemark	Christen Knudsen
Aust-Agder	Hans Henrik Petersen
Vest-Agder	Iver Leutch Elieson
Rogaland	Alf Skjegstad Krog
Hordaland og Bergen	O. Rømcke
Sogn og Fjordane	Konrad Sundlo
Møre og Romsdal	Erling Kvadsheim
Sør Trøndelag	Otto Johannes Grundtvig
Nord Trøndelag	Otto Johannes Grundtvig
Nordland	Karl Ludvig Nøstvik
Troms	Marcus Bull
Finnmark	Thor Bekeng

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